

THE
British *Monarch;*
OR,
 BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER.

Being a SELECT COLLECTION of
 The LIVES of
 Of the most FEMININE MEN
Natives of Great Britain and Ireland
 From the Reign of HENRY VIII to GEORGE II
 both inclusive

What a list of great 262.
 Starches | Warriors, | Poets E
 Patriots | Divines, | Philosophers.
(The "COMMITTEES")



(-) (-) (-) (-) (-)
 Printed by the R. S. & S. Authority,
 For EDWARD DILLY, in the Poultrey,
 MDCCLXX.



G. R.

WHEREAS Our trusty and well-beloved
 EDWARD DILLY, of our city of London, Bookseller, hath, by his petition, humbly represented unto us, that he hath undertaken to print and publish a work called *The British Plutarch, or Biographical Entertainer*; being a select collection of the lives at large of the most eminent men, natives of Great-Britain and Ireland, from the reign of king Henry the Eighth, to that of Our late Royal Grandfather, both inclusive: in the prosecution of which he hath been at great trouble and expence in procuring access to antient records, memoirs, papers, and other authentic intelligence: as well as engaging several gentlemen of learning and abilities, to compile from those materials, in such a stile and method, as to render that work more agreeable and universally useful, than any other of the kind that has hitherto made its appearance. And, being desirous of reaping the fruits of his said labour and expence, and enjoying the full profit and benefit that may arise from vending the above-mentioned valuable

able work, without any other person's interfering in his just property : he hath therefore most humbly prayed Us to grant him Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work. We do therefore, by these Presents, so far as may be agreeable to the statute in that case made and provided, grant unto him, the said EDWARD DILLY, his executors, administrators, and assigns, Our Royal Licence, for the sole printing, publishing, and vending, the said work, for the term of fourteen years ; strictly forbidding all Our subjects, within Our kingdoms and dominions, to reprint, abridge, or publish the same, either in the like, or any other volume, or volumes, whatsoever; or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute, any copies thereof reprinted beyond the seas. during the aforesaid term of fourteen years, without the consent and approbation of the said EDWARD DILLY, his heirs, executors, and assigns, under their hands and seals first had and obtained, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Wherefore the commissioners, and other officers of the customs, the master, wardens, and company of stationers, are to take notice, that due obedience may be rendered to Our will and pleasure herein declared.

*Given at Our Court at St. James's, this 20th
Day of January, 1762, in
of Our reign.*

By His MAJESTY'S Command

E. G. R. E. M.

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Walsley
Arch. Bishop Crammer. *Forgeron sculpt*



THE LIFE OF
THOMAS CRANMER.

THIS great prelate was the son of Thomas Cranmer, esq. a gentleman of an antient and wealthy family that came in with the Conqueror; and was born at Asleclon, in Nottinghamshire, on the second of July, 1498. His father died when he was very young; and his mother, when he was fourteen years old, sent him to Cambridge. He was elected fellow of Jesus College; where he was so well beloved, that, when his fellowship was vacant by his marriage, yet, his wife dying about a year after, the master and fellows chose him again.

This favour he so gratefully acknowledged, that, when he was nominated to a fellowship in cardinal Wolsey's new foundation at Oxon, though the salary was much more considerable, and the way to preferment more ready by the favour of the cardinal, he nevertheless declined it, and chose rather to continue with his old fellow collegians, who had given him so singular a proof of their affection.

In the year 1523, he commenced doctor of divinity, being then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and, being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen reader of the divinity lecture in his own college, and appointed by the university to be one of the examiners of those who took their degrees in divinity.

During his residence at Cambridge, the question arose concerning king Henry's divorce; and the plague breaking out in the university about this time, he retired to Waltham-Abbey; where casually meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the one the king's secretary, the other his almoner, and discoursing with them about the divorce, he greatly commended the expedient suggested to the king by cardinal Wolsey, of consulting the divines of our own and the foreign universities. This conversation Fox and Gardiner related to the king, who immediately sent for him to court; and, admiring his gravity, modesty, and learning, resolved to promote him. Accordingly he made him his chaplain, and gave him a good benefice.

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Deputy. He was also nominated by him to be arch-deacon of Taunton.

At the king's command he drew up his own judgment of the case in writing; and so solidly defended it at the public school at Cambridge, that he brought over divers of the contrary part to his opinion; particularly five of those six doctors who had before given in their judgment to the king, for the lawfulness of the pope's dispensation for marrying his brother's wife.

In the year 1530, Dr. Cranmer was sent by the king to dispute on this subject at Paris, and in other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation: but, after sundry promises and appointments, none appeared to oppose him publicly; and, in more private conferences, he forced them to confess, that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him penitentiary-general of England, and dismissed him. In Germany, he gave full satisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary persuasion; and prevailed on the famous Oslander, to declare the king's marriage unlawful, in his Treatise of Incestuous Marriages; and to draw up a form of direction, how the king's process should be managed; which was sent over to England. Before he left Germany, he was married to Oslander's niece; whom, when he returned from his embassy,

he did not take over with him, but sent for him privately in 1534.

In August, 1532, archbishop Warham departed this life; and the king, thinking Dr. Cranmer the most proper person to succeed him in the see of Canterbury, wrote to him to hasten home, concealing the reason: but Cranmer guessing at it, and desirous to decline the station, moved slowly on, in hopes that the see might be filled before his arrival: but all this backwardness, and the excuses which his great modesty and humility prompted him to make, when, after his return, the king opened his resolution to him, served only to raise his majesty's opinion of his merit; so that, at last, he found himself obliged to submit, and undertake the weighty charge.

The pope, notwithstanding Cranmer was a man very unacceptable to Rome, dispatched eleven bulls to complete his character. These bulls the archbishop, according to custom, received; but immediately surrendered them to the king, because he would not acknowledge the pope's power of conferring ecclesiastical dignities in England; which he esteemed the king's sole right. He was consecrated on the thirtieth of March, 1533; and, because in the oath of fidelity to the pope, which he was obliged to take before his consecration, there were some things seemingly inconsistent with his allegiance to the king, he made a public protestation, That he intended not to take the

the oath in any other sense than that which was reconcileable to the laws of God, the king's just prerogative, and the statutes of this kingdom; so as not to bind himself thereby to act contrary to any of these. This protestation he renewed when he was to take another oath to the pope at his receiving the pall; and both times desired the prothonotary to make a public instrument of his protestation, and the persons present to sign it.

The first service the archbishop did for the king, was pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from queen Catharine; which was done on the twenty-third of May. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, being in commission with him. The queen, after three citations, neither appearing in person nor by proxy, was declared contumax; the depositions relating to the consummation of the marriage with prince Arthur were read, together with the opinions of the most noted canonists and divines in favour of the divorce: and the archbishop, with the unanimous consent of the rest of the commissioners, pronounced the marriage between the king and queen Catharine null, and of no force from the beginning; and declared them separated and divorced from each other, and at liberty to engage with whom they pleased.

In this affair, the archbishop proceeded only upon what had been already concluded by the universities, convocations, &c. and did no

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more than put their decisions into a form of law.

On the twenty eighth of May he held another court at Lambeth, in which he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Bullen. The pope, alarmed at these proceedings, by a public instrument declared the divorce null and void, and threatened to excommunicate the archbishop, unless he would revoke all that he had done: whereupon the archbishop appealed from the pope to the next general council, lawfully called; and sent the appeal, under his seal, to Bonner, desiring him and Gardiner to acquaint the pope with it, in such a manner as they thought most expedient.

On the seventh of September, the new queen was delivered of a daughter, who was baptized the Wednesday following, and named Elizabeth, archbishop Cranmer standing godfather.

When the supremacy came under debate, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome was called in question, the archbishop answered all the arguments brought in defence of the papal tyranny, with such strength and perspicuity, that the foreign power was, without scruple, abolished by full consent in parliament and convocation. The destruction of this usurped jurisdiction Cranmer had prayed for many years, as himself declared in a sermon at Canterbury; because it was the occasion of many things being done contrary to the honour of God and the good of this realm; and

and he perceived no hopes of amendment while it continued. This he now saw happily effected; and, soon after, he ordered an alteration to be made in the archiepiscopal titles; instead of apostolica sedis legatus, styling himself, metropolitanus.

The king, whose supremacy was now almost as universally acknowledged as the pope's had been before, looked on the monasteries with a jealous eye; these he thought were, by their privileges of exemption, engaged to the see of Rome, and would prove a body of reserve for the pope, always ready to appear in the quarrel, and support his claim. This, it is probable, was the chief motive which inclined the king to think of dissolving them: and Cranmer being consulted on this head, approved of the resolution. He saw how inconsistent those foundations were with the reformation of religion, which he then had in view; and proposed, that, out of the revenues of the monasteries, the king should found more bishoprics: that, the dioceses being reduced into less compass, the bishops might the better discharge their duty according to the scripture and private practice. He hoped also, that, from these ruins, there would be new foundations erected in every cathedral, to be nurseries of learning, under the inspection of the bishop, for the use and benefit of the whole diocese. But these noble designs were unhappily defeated by the sinister arts of avaricious courtiers, who, without fear of the divine

vengeance, or regard to the good of the public, studied only how, sacrilegiously, to raise their own fortunes out of the church's spoils.

When queen Anne Bullen was sent to the Tower, on a sudden jealousy of the king, the archbishop was greatly concerned for her misfortune, and did his utmost endeavours to assist her in her distress. He wrote a consolatory letter to the king: in which, after having recommended to him an equality of temper, and resignation to Providence, he put him in mind of the great obligation he had received from the queen, and endeavoured to dispose the king to clemency and a good humour. Finally, he most humbly implored him, that, however unfortunate the issue of this affair might prove, he would still continue his love to the gospel, lest it should be thought, that it was for her sake only that he had favoured it. But neither this letter of the archbishop, nor another very moving one wrote with her own hand, made the least impression upon the king; for her ruin was decreed; and, after Cranmer had declared her marriage with the king null and void, upon her confession of a pre-contract with the earl of Northumberland, she was tried in the Tower, and executed on the nineteenth of May, 1536.

In 1537, the archbishop, with the joint authority of the bishops, set forth that valuable book, intitled, The Institution of a Christian Man. This book was composed in Convocation, and drawn up for a direction to the bishops

bishops and clergy. It contains an explanation of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, Justification, and Purgatory.

Archbishop Cranmer, from the day of his promotion to the see of Canterbury, had continually employed his thoughts on getting the scriptures translated into English. He had often solicited his majesty about it, and, at length, obtained a grant, that they might be translated and printed. For want of good paper in England, the copy was sent to Paris; and, by Bonner's means, a licence was procured for printing it there. As soon as some of the copies came to the archbishop's hands, he sent one of them to the lord Cromwell, desiring him to present it, in his name, to the king; importuning him to intercede with his majesty, that, by his authority, all his subjects might have the liberty of using it without constraint: which lord Cromwell accordingly did.

The book was received with an expressible joy; every one that was able purchased it, and the poor greedily flocked to hear it read. Some persons in years learned to read on purpose that they might peruse it; and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it. The archbishop was not yet convinced of the fallaciousness of the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, but continued a stiff maintainer of the ecclesiastical pretence; as appears from his being unhappy concerned in the prosecution of Lambert, who was burnt, on the twentieth of

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November, 1538, for denying transubstantiation.

In 1539, the archbishop, and the other bishops who favoured a reformation, fell under the king's displeasure; because they could not be persuaded, to give their assent in parliament that the king should have all the revenues of the monasteries, which were suppressed, to his own sole use. They had been prevailed upon to consent, that he should have all the lands which his ancestors gave to any of them; but the residue they would have bestowed on hospitals, schools, and other pious and charitable foundations.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the rest of the popish faction, took this opportunity of insinuating themselves, by their hypocrisy and flattery, into the king's favour; and to incense him against the archbishop. This is thought to have been the cause of the king's zeal, in pressing the bill containing the six bloody articles. The archbishop argued boldly in the house against the six articles three days together; and that so strenuously, that, though the king was so obstinate in passing the act, yet he desired a copy of his reasons against it; and shewed no resentment towards him for his opposition to it. The king would have persuaded him to withdraw out of the house, since he could not vote for the bill; but, after a decent excuse, he told his majesty, that he thought himself obliged in conscience to stay and shew his dissent.

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When the bill passed he entered his protest against it; and soon after he sent his wife privately away to her friends in Germany. The king, who loved him for his probity and courage, sent the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Cromwell, to acquaint him, and to assure him, of his favour, notwithstanding the passing of the act.

In 1540, the king issued out a commission to the archbishop, and a select number of bishops, to inspect into matters of religion, and explain some of the chief doctrines of it. The bishops drew up a set of articles favouring the old superstitions; and meeting at Lambeth, vehemently urged the archbishop, that they might be established, it being the king's will and pleasure. But neither by fear nor flattery could they prevail upon him to consent to it: no, though his friend the lord Cromwell lay then in the Tower, and himself was supposed to lose ground daily more and more in the king's affections, he went himself to the king, and expostulated with him, and so wrought upon him, that he joined with the archbishop against the rest of the commissioners; and the book of articles was drawn up and passed according to Cranmer's judgment.

In this year the largest volume of the English Bible was published, with an excellent preface of the archbishop's prefixed to it; and Bonner, then newly consecrated bishop of London, set up six of them in the most convenient places of his cathedral of St. Paul's, for the people

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to resort unto and read. So different were his sentiments then from what they afterwards appeared in queen Mary's days.

After the fall of the lord Cromwell, archbishop Cranmer, observing the restless spirits of his adversaries, and how they were upon the watch for an opportunity to bring him into trouble, thought it prudent to retire for a season, and to live in as great privacy as the duties of his station would permit him. Notwithstanding which, his implacable enemy, bishop Gardiner, was daily contriving his ruin; and he, having procured one Sir John Gostwicke to accuse the archbishop in parliament, of encouraging novel opinions, and making his family a nursery of heresy and sedition, divers lords of the privy-council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the Tower, till inquiry should be made into the truth of this charge. The king, who perceived that there was more malice than truth in these calumnies against Cranmer, one evening, under pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth side. The archbishop's servants acquainting their lord of his majesty's being so near, his lordship came to the water side, to pay his respects to the king, and to invite him into his palace. The king commanded the archbishop to come into the barge, and made him sit down close by him. Having so done, the king began to complain to him, of the nation's being over-run by heresy and new notions of divinity,

ty, which he had reason to fear might be of dangerous consequence, and that the faction might in time break out into a civil-war : to prevent which, his majesty told him, he was resolved to look after the grand incendiary, and to take him off by some exemplary punishment : and then proceeded to ask the archbishop what his opinion was of such a resolution.

Though Cranmer soon smelt the meaning of that question, yet he freely, and without the least appearance of concern, replied, 'That his majesty's resolution was much to be commended : but then he cautioned the king, not to charge those with heresy who made the divinely inspired scriptures the rule of their faith, and could prove their doctrines by clear testimonies from the word of God. Upon this the king came closer, and plainly told him, 'He had been informed by many, that he was the grand heresiarch who encouraged all this heterodoxy ; and that his authority had occasioned the six articles to be so publicly contested in his province. The archbishop modestly replied, 'That he could not but acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion, in respect of those articles, as he had declared himself of when the bill was passing ; but that, notwithstanding, he was not conscious to himself of having offended against the act.

Then the king, putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, Whether his bedchamber
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would stand the test of those articles? The archbishop gravely and ingenuously confessed, that he was married in Germany during his embassy at the emperor's court, before his promotion to the see of Canterbury; but, at the same time, assured the king, That, on passing that act, he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His answering thus, without evasion or reserve, so pleased the king, that he now pulled off the mask, and assured him of his favour; and then freely told him of the information preferred against him; and who they were that pretended to make it good. The archbishop said, that he was not afraid of the strictest scrutiny; and therefore was willing to submit himself to a legal tryal. The king assured him, he would put the cause into his own hands, and trust him entirely with the management of it. This the archbishop remonstrated, would be censured as partiality, and the king's justice called in question: but his majesty had so strong an opinion of Cranmer's integrity, that he was resolved to leave it to his conduct; and, having farther assured him of the entire confidence he reposed in him, dismissed him.

The archbishop immediately sent down his vicar-general and principal registry to Canterbury, to make a thorough enquiry into the affair, and trace the progress of this plot against him. In the mean time his adver-
saries

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ties importunately pressed the king to send him to prison, and oblige him to answer to the charge of heresy.

At length his majesty resigned so far to their solicitations, as to consent, that, if the archbishop could fairly be proved guilty of any one crime against either church or state, he should be sent to prison. In this the king acted the politician, intending, by thus seemingly giving countenance to the prosecution, to discover who were Cranmer's chief adversaries, and what was the length of their design against him. At midnight he sent a gentleman of his privy chamber to Lambeth, to fetch the archbishop; and, when he was come, told him, how he had been daily importuned to commit him to prison, as a favourer of heresy; and how far he had complied. The archbishop thanked his majesty for this timely notice, and declared himself willing to go to prison, and stand a trial; for, being conscious he was not guilty of any offence, he thought that the best way to clear his innocence, and remove all unreasonable and groundless suspicions. The king, admiring his simplicity, told him, he was in the wrong to rely so much on his innocence; for, if he were once under a cloud, and hurried to prison, there would be villains enough to swear any thing against him; but, while he was at liberty, and his character entire, it would not be so easy to suborn witnesses against him: "and, therefore," continued he, "since your own un-
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guarded simplicity makes you less cautious than you ought to be, I will suggest, to you the means of your preservation. To-morrow you will be sent for to the privy-council, and ordered to prison : upon this you are to request, that, since you have the honour to be one of the board, you may be admitted unto the council, and the informers against you brought face to face ; and then, if you cannot clear yourself, you are willing to go to prison. If this reasonable request is denied you, appeal to me, and give them this sign, that you have my authority for so doing." Then the king took a ring of great value off his finger, gave it to the archbishop, and dismissed him.

The next morning, the archbishop was summoned to the privy-council ; and, when he came there, was denied admittance into the council-chamber. When Dr. Batts, one of the king's physicians, heard of this, he came to the archbishop, who was waiting in the lobby amongst the footmen, to shew his respect, and to protect him from insults.

The king soon after sent for the doctor, who acquainted his majesty with the shameful indignity put upon the archbishop. The king, incensed that the primate of all England should be used in so contumelious a manner, immediately sent to command them to admit the archbishop into the council-chamber. At his entrance he was saluted with an heavy accusation of having infected the whole realm with heresy ;

heresy; and commanded to the Tower till the whole of this charge was thoroughly examined. The archbishop desired to see the informers against him, and to have the liberty of defending himself before the council, and not to be sent to prison on bare suspicion: but, when this was absolutely denied him, and finding that neither arguments nor intreaties would prevail, he appealed to the king; and producing the ring he had given him, put a stop to their proceedings.

When they came before the king, he severely reprimanded them; expatiated on his obligations to Cranmer for his fidelity and integrity; and charged them, if they had any affection for him, to express it, by their love and kindness to the archbishop.

Cranmer having escaped the snare, never shewed the least resentment for the injuries done him; and, from this time forwards, had so great a share in the king's favour, that nothing farther was attempted against him. And, now I am upon this subject of the archbishop's readiness to forgive and forget injuries, I cannot but take notice of a pleasant story which happened some time before this:

The archbishop's first wife, whom he married at Cambridge, lived at the Dolphin inn; and he often resorted thither on that account. The popish party had raised a story, that he was ostler of that inn, and never had the benefit of a learned education. This idle story a Yorkshire priest had, with great confidence, asserted

asserted in an ale-house he used to frequent; railing at the archbishop, and saying, that he had no more learning than a goose. Some of the parish, who had a respect for Cranmer's character, informed the lord Cromwell of this, who immediately sent for the priest, and committed him to the Fleet prison. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he sent a relation of his to the archbishop, to beg his pardon, and humbly sue to him for a discharge. The archbishop instantly sent for him, and, after a gentle reproof, asked the priest, Whether he knew him? to which he answered, No. The archbishop expostulated with him, why he should then make so free with his character. The priest excused himself by being in drink; but this, Cranmer told him, was a double fault; and then let him know that, if he had a mind to try what a scholar he was, he should have liberty to oppose him in whatever science he pleased. The priest asked his pardon, and confessed himself to be very ignorant, and to understand nothing but his mother-tongue. "No doubt, then," said Cranmer, "you are well versed in the English Bible, and can answer any question of that: Pray tell me who was David's father?" The priest stood still a while to consider; but at last told the archbishop, he could not recollect his name. "Tell me, then," says Cranmer, "who was Solomon's father?" The poor priest replied, that he had no skill in genealogies, and could not tell. Then the archbishop advised him to frequent

quent alehouses less, and his study more; and admonished him, not to accuse others of want of learning till he was master of some himself, discharged him out of custody, and sent him home to his cure.

The same lenity he shewed towards Dr. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barbar; who, though entertained in his family, and entrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had ungratefully conspired with Gardiner to take away his life. When he first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study; and telling them he had been basely and falsely abused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him how he should behave himself towards them. They, not suspecting themselves to be concerned in the question, replied, "That such vile abandoned villains ought to be prosecuted with the utmost rigour; nay, deserved to die without mercy. At this the archbishop, lifting up his hands to Heaven, cried out, "Merciful God, whom may a man trust!" and then, pulling out of his bosom the letters by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew these papers. When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion; and, falling down on their knees, humbly sued for forgiveness. The archbishop told them, that he forgave them, and would pray
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for them ; but they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future.

It cannot be denied, that the just zeal of some of our reformers against the usurped papal supremacy, carried them too far, and made them stretch the regal power to such an exorbitant length as was inconsistent with the divine commission of the clergy, and seemed to reduce the church to be a mere creature of the state. That archbishop Cranmer ran into this extreme is plain, not only from his answers to some questions relating to the government of the church, first published by Dr. Stillingfleet, in his mischievous *Irenicum*, but from the commission which he took from Edward VI. whom he petitioned for a revival of his jurisdiction ; and that, as he had exercised the functions of an archbishop, during the former reigns ; so that authority determining with king Henry's life, his majesty would trust him with the same jurisdiction. * On this error of the archbishop, the modern papists make tragical outcries, forgetting, that it was the common mistake of those times ; that it is usual for men, in the first heat of their zeal against any pernicious error, to run too far the contrary way ; and that Bonner not only took out the same commission now, but had before taken out another in the reign of king Henry ; in which the king was declared the fountain of all authority, civil and ecclesiastical ; and those who formerly exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction

jurisdiction, are said to have done it precariously, and at the courtesy of the king, and that it was lawful for him to revoke it at pleasure.*

And therefore, since the lord Cromwell, the king's vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs, was so far employed in matters of state, as not to be at leisure to discharge his functions every-where, the king gave Bonner authority to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in the diocese of London. This seems to have been the precedent, after which the new commissions were now formed. Mr. Strype, indeed, confidently affirms the archbishop to have had a hand in drawing them up; but the very words which he quotes to prove it, are manifestly taken from the preamble to Bonner's commission. But from these imprimitive and uncatholic notions, our archbishop was happily recovered by that luminary of our reformed church, bishop Ridley. Henry, who died in the Roman communion (though his imperfections are too freely charged on the reformation, by the papists) had, in his will, left six hundred pounds per annum, for masses for his soul, with provision for four solemn obits every year; but by the influence of the archbishop, who was one of the regents, this superstitious part of his will, notwithstanding his strict and solemn charge for its execution, was rejected. On the twentieth of February, the coronation of king Edward was solemnized at Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was performed by archbishop Cranmer, who made
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an excellent speech to the king; in which, after the censure of the papal encroachments on princes, and a declaration, that the solemn ceremonies of a coronation, add nothing to the authority of a prince, whose power is derived immediately from God; he goes to inform the king of his duty, exhorts him to follow the precedent of good Josias, to regulate the worship of God, to suppress idolatry, reward virtue, execute justice, relieve the poor, repress violence, and punish the evil doer. It may not be improper, to transcribe what he says concerning the divine original of kingly power, in his own words, to rectify some prevailing notions amongst us, "The solemn rites of coronation (says he) have their ends and utility, yet neither of direct force or necessity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no increase of their dignity: for they be God's anointed, not in respect of the oil, which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained, of the sword which is authorised, of their persons which are elected of God; and indued with the gifts of his Spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of the people. 'The oil, if added, is but a ceremony; if it be wanting, the king is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was unctioned.'" Then follows his account of the king's duty; after which he goes on, "Being bound by my function, to lay these things before

before your royal highness; yet I openly declare, before the living God, and before the nobles of the land, that I have no commission to denounce your majesty deprived, if your highness miss in part, or in whole, of these performances." This speech had so good an effect on the young king, that a royal visitation was resolved on, to rectify the disorders of the church, and reform religion. The visitors had six circuits assigned them; and every division had a preacher, whose business it was, to bring off the people from superstition, and dispose them for the intended alteration. And to make the impressions of their doctrine more lasting, the archbishop thought it highly expedient to have some homilies composed; which should, in a plain method, teach the grounds and foundations of true religion, and correct the prevailing errors and superstitions. On this head he consulted the bishop of Winchester, and desired his concurrence; but to no purpose. For Gardiner, forgetting his large professions of all future obedience to the archbishop, was returned with the dog to his vomit, and wrote to the protector, to put a stop to the reformation in its birth. When Cranmer perceived Gardiner obstinate, he went on without him, and set forth the first book of homilies, in which himself had the chief hand. Soon after, Erasmus's paraphrase on the new Testament was translated, and placed in every church, for the instruction of the people.

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On the fifth of November, 1547, a convocation was held at St. Paul's, which the archbishop opened with a speech; in which he put the clergy in mind of applying themselves to the study of the holy scriptures, and proceeding according to that rule, in throwing off the corrupt innovations of popery. But the terror of the six articles being a check on the majority, they acquainted the archbishop with their fears; who reporting it to the council, prevailed to have that act repealed. In this convocation, the communion was ordered to be administered in both kinds, and the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy affirmed by a great majority. In the latter end of January, the archbishop wrote to Bonner, to forbid, throughout his diocese, the ~~ridiculous~~ processions, which were usual in the popish times, on Candlemas-day, Ash-wednesday, and Palm-sunday; and to cause notice thereof to be given to the other neighbouring bishops, that they might do the same. He was also one of the committee appointed to inspect the offices of the church, and to reform them according to scripture and the purest antiquity: and by them a new office for the holy communion was drawn up, and set forth by authority. This year was also published the archbishop's catechism, intitled, A short instruction in Christian religion, for the singular profit of children and young people; and a Latin treatise of his against unwritten verities. From this catechism,
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it is plain, that he had now recovered himself from those extravagant notions of the regal supremacy, which he had once the misfortune to run into; for here he strenuously asserts the divine commission of bishops and priests, enlarges on the efficacy of their absolution and spiritual censures, and earnestly wishes for the restoring of the primitive penitentiary discipline. Hence it appears, with what insincerity Dr Stillingfleet acted, when in his *Irenicum* he endeavoured to impose upon the world the contrary doctrines, as the last judgment of the archbishop on this subject. The licence, which was given to men of learning and judgment, freely to preach and write against the popish corruptions, now began to be abused by men of great confidence and ignorance; who took this opportunity to vend many dangerous heresies and blasphemies: to prevent which, they were conveyed before the archbishop, and prevailed on to recant, and abjure their pernicious opinions. Only one Joan Becher, continued deaf to all arguments, and perversely obstinate to all persuasions. The archbishop thought it necessary to make her a severe example, to terrify all others from the like obstinacy, and crush the spirit of heresy now in its beginnings. To which end he first excommunicated her, and then delivered her over to the secular powers; upon which she was condemned to be burnt. But these rigorous proceedings were very inconsistent with the merciful and tender spirit of the king; he

long withstood the signing a warrant for her execution: and when over-awed by the authority and reasonings of Cranmer, he at last, with great reluctance, consented to do it; and with tears in his eyes, said to the archbishop, "My lord, if I do amiss in this, you must answer for it to God." When the popish faction broke out in 1549, into a dangerous rebellion, demanding, in the most insolent terms, the revival of the six article act, the restitutions of the old superstitions, and that cardinal Pole should not only be pardoned, but sent for home, and be made a privy councillor; and that the abbey and chauntry lands should be restored: the archbishop drew up a large and full answer to their demands, clearly shewing how unreasonable they were, how prejudicial to the real interests of the nation, and of what mischievous consequence to religion; justly exposing the abuses and corruptions of popery, and demonstrating the necessity of a reformation. Bishop Bonner was suspected to be a secret approver and encourager of this rebellion: and one of the rebel's chief pleas being, that, during the king's minority, the state had no authority to make laws; Bonner was enjoined to preach on this very subject, to shew the falshood and danger of such pernicious tenets, and assert the king's just power. But, instead of obeying, in his discourse he cast bitter reflections on the reformation, and threw out some sly insinuations against the government; and information being given thereof

thereof by Latimer and Hooper, a commission was issued out to archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, and others, to proceed against him.. When he appeared before the commissioners, he refused to give any direct answer to the charge laid against him; pretending that the cause of his present trouble was, his asserting in his sermon, the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar. Then he began in a most audacious and insolent manner to question the archbishop, concerning his belief in that point; but was told that they came not there to dispute, but to hear what answer he could make to the crimes laid to his charge.

The archbishop, with incredible patience, bore with his unparalleled insolence, no less than seven sessions successively; but then finding him incorrigible, and that he was resolved not to answer to the articles alledged against him; but instead of that to revile and calumniate his judges; he, in the name of the rest of the commissioners, pronounced him contumacious, and proceeded to the sentence of deprivation. Bonner protested against the validity of this sentence; because he did not appear before them of his own free will, but was a prisoner, and constrained to appear. To which the archbishop replied, that the same plea might be made by any traitor and rebel, since no criminal is willing to be brought to justice.

The next year bishop Gardiner, also, was, for his obstinate opposition to the reformation,

cited before the archbishop, and other commissioners. At his first appearance he protested against the authority of the judges, and excepted against the legality of their commission: he protested also against the persons who appeared against him; and behaving himself in the same haughty and arrogant manner as Bonner had done before, he was at last deprived, after they had borne with his insolence no less than two and twenty sessions at different places, from the 15th of December, to the 14th of February. This year the archbishop published his defence "of the true and catholic doctrine of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ." He had now, by the assistance of bishop Ridley, overcome those strong prejudices he had long laboured under, in favour of the corporeal presence; and in this treatise, from scripture and reason, excellently confuted it. The popish party were alarmed at the publication of it; and soon after two answers to it were published, the one wrote by doctor Smith, the other by Gardiner. The archbishop defended his book against them both: and was allowed by all impartial readers, vastly to have the superiority in the argument. The archbishop's book was afterwards translated into latin, by Sir John Cheke, and was highly esteemed by all learned foreigners, for the great knowledge in scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity therein discovered. The next material occurrence relating to the archbishop, was the publication

publication of the forty-two articles of religion; which, with the assistance of bishop Ridley, he drew up for preserving and maintaining the purity and unity of the church. They were also revised by several other bishops and learned divines; and, after their corrections, farther enlarged and improved by Cranmer. These articles were agreed to in convocation, and were afterwards published by royal authority, both in Latin and English.

The archbishop had formed a design, in the reign of the late king Henry, to review and purge the old canon law from its popish corruptions, and had made some progress in the work: but by the secret artifices of Gardiner and others, the king was prevailed upon not to countenance or encourage it. In this reign he resumed his design, and procured a commission from the king, for himself, with other learned divines and lawyers, diligently to examine into the church-laws; and to compile such a body of laws as they thought most expedient to be practised in the ecclesiastical courts, and most conducive to order and good discipline. The archbishop prosecuted this undertaking with great vigour, and had the principal hand in it: but when a direct and complete draught of it was finished and prepared for the royal assent, the unhappy death of the good king blasted this great design, and prevented its confirmation. The book was published by archbishop Parker, in

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the year 1571, intituled, " *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum.*"

King Edward was now far gone in a consumption, he had been persuaded by the artifices of the duke of Northumberland, to exclude his sisters, and to bequeath the crown to the lady Jane Grey, who was married to Northumberland's son. The archbishop did his utmost to oppose this alteration of the succession: he argued against it with the king, telling him, that religion would not to be defended by such unrighteous methods; that it was one of the gross errors of the papists, to justify the excluding or deposing princes from their just rights, on account of religion; and, let the consequence be what it would, justice ought to take place, and the protection of the church committed to the care of that righteous providence, which was never known to give a blessing to those who endeavoured to preserve themselves from any imminent danger by unlawful means. But his majesty being over-persuaded by Northumberland's agents, was not to be moved from his resolution: the will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The archbishop was sent for last of all, and required to subscribe: but he plainly told them he could not do it without perjury, having sworn to the entail of the crown on the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. To this the king replied, that the judges, who best knew the constitution, should be most regarded in this point; and they had informed

informed him, that notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to the lady Jane. The archbishop desired to discourse with them himself about this matter; and they all agreeing, that he might lawfully subscribe to the king's will, he was, after many persuasions, prevailed upon to resign his own private scruples to their authority; and at last, not without great reluctancy, he set his hand to it.

On the sixth of July, in the year of our Lord 1553, it pleased almighty God to take to himself this pious and good prince, king Edward; and the archbishop having subscribed to the king's will, thought himself obliged, by virtue of his oath, to join the lady Jane. But her short-lived power soon expired, and queen Mary's title was universally acknowledged, and submitted to. Not long after her accession, a false report was raised, that archbishop Cranmer, in order to make his court to the queen, had offered to restore the Latin service, and that he had already said mass, in his cathedral church at Canterbury. To vindicate himself from this vile and base aspersion, the archbishop published a declaration, in which he not only cleared himself from that unjust imputation, but offered publicly to defend the English liturgy, and prove it consonant to scripture and the purest antiquity; and challenged his enemies to a disputation. This declaration soon fell into the hands of the council, who sent a copy of it to the

queen's commissioners ; and they immediately sent for the archbishop, and questioned him about it. Cranmer acknowledged it to be his ; but complained that it had contrary to his intent, stolen abroad in so imperfect a condition : for his design was to review and correct it ; and then, after he had put his seal to it, to fix it up at St. Paul's, and on all the church doors in London. This bold and extraordinary answer so irritated them, that they sent him to the Tower, there to be confined, till the queen's pleasure concerning him was known. Some of his friends who foresaw this storm, had advised him to consult his safety by retiring beyond sea ; but he thought it would reflect a great dishonour on the cause he had espoused, if he should desert his station at such a time as this ; and chose rather to hazard his life, than give such just cause of scandal and offence.

In the middle of November, archbishop Cranmer was attainted by the parliament, and adjudged guilty of high treason, at Guildhall. His see was hereupon declared void : and on the tenth of December, the dean and chapter of Canterbury gave commissions to several persons to exercise archiepiscopal jurisdiction in their name, and by their authority. Archbishop Cranmer wrote a very submissive letter to the queen, in the most humble manner acknowledging his fault, in consenting to sign the king's will ; acquainting her what pressing instances he made to the king against it ; and
excusing

excusing his fault, by being over-ruled by the authority of the judges and lawyers, who, he thought, understood the constitution better than he did himself. The queen had pardoned so many already, who had been far more deeply engaged in the lady Jane's usurpation, that Cranmer could not for shame be denied; so he was forgiven the treason: but, to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable hatred against him for her mother's divorce, orders were given to proceed against him for heresy.

In April, 1544, the archbishop was removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. At the first appearance of the archbishop in the public schools, three articles were given him to subscribe; in which the corporeal presence, by transubstantiation, was asserted, and the mass affirmed to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and dead. These, he declared freely, he esteemed gross untruths; and promised to give an answer concerning them in writing.

Accordingly he drew it up; and, when he was brought again to the schools to dispute, he delivered the writing to Dr. Weston, the prolocutor. At eight in the morning the disputation began, and held till two in the afternoon: all which time the archbishop constantly maintained the truth, with great learning and courage, against a multitude of clamorous and insolent opponents: and three days after, he

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was again brought forth to oppose Dr Harpsfield, who was to respond for his degree in divinity; and here he acquitted himself so well, clearly shewing the gross absurdities, and inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of transubstantiation, that Weston himself, as great a bigot as he was, could not but dismiss him with commendation. In these disputations, with other slanderous reproaches, the archbishop was accused for corrupting and falsifying a passage which, in his book of the Sacrament, he had quoted from St. Hilary. In answer to which, he replied, that he had transcribed it verbatim from the printed book; and that Dr. Smith, one of their own divines, there present, had quoted it word for word also. But Smith made no reply, being conscious that it was true.

When the disputation was over, one Mr. Heleot remembring that he had Smith's book, went directly to his chamber in University-college; and comparing it with Cranmer's, found the quotations exactly to agree. He afterwards looked into a book of Gardiner's, called, "The Devil's Sophistry," where the same passage was cited; and both the Latin, and English agreed exactly with Cranmer's quotation and translation. Upon this he resolved to carry the said books to the archbishop in prison, that he might produce them in his own vindication.

When he came thither, he was stopped and brought before Dr. Weston and his colleagues,
who,

who, upon information of his design, charged him with treason, and abetting Cranmer in his heresy; and committed him to prison. The next day he was again brought before them, and they threatened to send him to bishop Gardiner, to be tried for treason, unless he would subscribe to the three articles concerning which the disputations had been held. This he then refused; but, being sent for again, after the condemnation of Cranmer, through fear he consented to it; yet not till they had assured him, that, if he sinned by so doing, they would take the guilt upon themselves, and answer for it to God: and yet even this subscription, of which he afterwards heartily repented, could not prevail for the restoring his books, lest he should shew them to their shame; nor for his entire discharge, the master of University-college being commanded to keep a strict watch over him till Gardiner's pleasure concerning him was known; and, if he heard nothing from him in a fortnight's time, then to expel him the college for his offence.

On the twentieth of April, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's, before the queen's commissioners; and refusing to subscribe, was pronounced an heretick, and sentence of condemnation read against him as such: upon which he told them, that he appealed from their unjust sentence and judgment to the judgment of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received to his presence in Heaven, for

maintaining the truth of whose spiritual presence at the altar he was there condemned. After this his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in prison. The latter and a popish convocation met, and did archbishop Cranmer the honour to order his book of the Sacrament to be burnt, in company with the English Bible and Common-Prayer-Book.

Cranmer, in the mean time, spent his melancholy hours in writing a vindication of his treatise concerning the Eucharist, from the objections of Gardiner, who had published a book against it under the feigned name of Marcius Antonius Constantius. Many of the learned men of the Romish persuasion came to visit him in prison, and endeavoured, by disputations and conferences, to draw him over to their church, but in vain.

In 1555, a new commission was sent from Rome for the trial of archbishop Cranmer for heresy; the former sentence against him being void in law, because the authority of the pope was not then re-established. The commissioners were Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's delegate, Dr. Storie, and Dr. Martin, doctors of the civil-law, the queen's commissioners.

On the twelfth of September they met at St. Mary's church; and, being seated at the high altar, commanded the archbishop to be brought before them. To the queen's commissioners, as representing the supreme authority

city of the nation, he paid all due respect, but absolutely refused to show any to the pope's delegate, lest he should seem to make the least acknowledgment of his usurped supremacy. Brooks, in his oration, exhorted him to consider his fall, and how he was fallen; advising him, in the most earnest and pathetic manner, to return to his holy mother, the Roman-catholic church, and, by the example of his repentance, to instruct those whom his past errors had misled.

In this oration he betrayed great ignorance both of scripture and antiquity: of scripture, by affirming, that the Arians had more texts, by two and forty, to countenance their errors, than the Catholics had for the maintenance of the truth: of antiquity, by making Origen write of Vegetius, who lived near eight hundred years before him; and, by confounding the great St. Cyprian with another Cyprian of Antioch, and by the magical study of the latter to the charge of the former.

When he had finished his harangue, Dr. Martin, in a short speech, began to open the trial, acquainting the archbishop with the articles alledged against him, and requiring his answer. The articles contained a charge of perjury, incontinence, and heresy: first, on account of his opposition to the papal tyranny; the second, in respect to his marriage; and the last, on account of the reformation in the late reign, in which he had the chief hand.

The archbishop having liberty to speak, after he had repeated the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, began with a justification of his conduct in relation of his renouncing the pope's supremacy; the admission of which he proved, by many instances, to be contrary to the natural allegiance of the subject, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the original constitution of the Christian church: and, in the close, he boldly charged Brooks with perjury for sitting there by the pope's authority, which he had solemnly abjured. Brooks endeavoured to vindicate himself, and retort the charge on the archbishop, by pretending, that he was seduced by Cranmer to take that oath: but this, the archbishop told him, was a gross untruth, the pope's supremacy having received the said blow from his predecessor, archbishop Warham, by whose advice king Henry had sent to both the universities, to examine what foundation it had in the word of God: to which he replied, and gave it under their seal, That, by the word of God, the supremacy was velled in the king, not the pope; and that Brooks had then subscribed this determination; and therefore wronged him, in pretending that he was seduced by him. At this Brooks was in a great confusion, and cried, "We came to examine you, and, I think, you examine us." Then Dr. Storic began to rail at the archbishop in an indecent manner, for excepting against the authority of his judge; and moved bishop Brooks to

to require from the archbishop a direct answer to their articles, whereof he stood accused; or, if he continued to deny the authority of the pope, and to decline answering, to proceed to sentence against him. After which, Dr. Martin had a short conference with the archbishop about his conduct in relation to the supremacy and the doctrine of the Eucharist; and then they proceeded to demand his answer to certain interrogatories concerning the crimes laid to his charge: to which he replied in so full and satisfactory a manner, that Brooks thought himself obliged to make another speech, to take off the impression his defence might have made upon the people. It was much unbecoming the gravity of a bishop, consisting only of scurrilous and unchristian railings, and uncouth and sophistical misapplications of scripture and the fathers.

After this, the archbishop ~~was cited to appear~~ at Rome within fourscore days, and there to answer in person: to which he replied, that he would very willingly consent, if the queen would give him leave to go to Rome, and justify the reformation to the pope's face. But this was only a mock-citation, for he was kept all that time close confined; and yet, at the end of fourscore days, was declared contumax, for wilfully absenting himself from Rome, whither he was legally summoned; and, in consequence thereof, was degraded, as we shall see hereafter.

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In the mean time, farther to manifest the insincerity of Dr. Stillingfleet, and to vindicate the character of the archbishop, I shall set down his last judgment, concerning the extent of the regal supremacy, as contained in his answer to Dr. Martin. When that doctor asked him, Who was supreme head of the church of England? The bishop answered, "Christ is head of this member, as well as of the whole body of the catholic church." When the doctor again demanded, Whether he had not declared king Henry the head of the church? "Yes," said the bishop, "of all the people in England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal." "What!" says Martin, "and not of the church?" "No," replied the archbishop; "for Christ only is head of the church, and of the faith, and religion of the same."

The February following, a new commission was given to bishop Bonner and bishop Thirlby, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to Oxon, the archbishop was brought before them; and, after they had read their commission from the pope, Bonner, in a scurrilous oration, insulted over him in a most unchristian manner; for which he was often rebuked by bishop Thirlby. In the commission it was declared, that the cause had been impartially heard at Rome; the witnesses on both sides were examined, and the archbishop's council allowed to make the best defence for him they could. At the reading
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of this, the archbishop could not help crying out, " Good God, what lies are these ! that I, being continually in prison, and not suffered to have council or advocate at home, should produce witnesses, and appoint my council at Rome ! God must needs punish this open and shameless lying."

When Bonner had finished his invective against him, they proceeded to degrade him ; and, that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the episcopal habit which they had put on him, was made of canvas and old clouts. Then the archbishop, pulling out of his sleeve a written appeal, delivered it to them, saying, " I appeal to the next general council."

When they had degraded him, they put on him an old thread-bare beadle-gown, and a townsman's coat ; and in that garb delivered him over to the secular power. As they were leading him to prison, a gentleman came and gave some money to the bailiffs for the archbishop : but this charitable action gave such offence to Bonner, that he ordered the gentleman to be seized ; and, had he not found great friends to intercede for him, would have sent him up to the council to be tried for it.

While the archbishop continued in prison, no endeavours were omitted to work him over to the church of Rome. Many of the most eminent divines in the university resorted to him daily, hoping, by arguments and persuasions, to work on him ; but all in vain ; for
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he held fast the profession of the faith, without wavering; and could not be shaken, by any of the terrors of this world, from his constancy in the truth: nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdom of his dear companions, bishop Ridley, and bishop Latimer, he was so far from shrinking, that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also, by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

At last the papists bethought themselves of a stratagem which proved fatal to him; they removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ-church; they treated him with the greatest civility and respect, and made him great promises of the queen's favour, and the restitution of his former dignities, with many other honours and preferments accumulated, if he would recant. And now, behold a most astonishing instance of human frailty! The man, who had, with such undaunted resolution, such unshaken constancy, and so truly primitive a spirit of martyrdom, faced the terror of death, and defied the most exquisite tortures, sinks under this last temptation, falls a prey to flattery and hypocrisy, and consents to recant! It is a vulgar error, even in our best historians, to suppose, that the archbishop acknowledged the whole of popery at once, and subscribed but one recantation. But this mistake is now rectified by the labour of the industrious Mr. Strype, who has discovered how subtilly

subtily he was drawn in by the papists to subscribe six different papers; the first being expressed in ambiguous words, capable of a favourable construction; and the five following pretended to be only explanations of the first.

It is very probable, that, had they acquainted Cranmer with the whole of their design at once, he would never have been seduced to redeem his life with such a dishonourable compliance; but, when they had, by their hypocrisy and artifice, drawn him in to a first and second recantation, ashamed to retract after he had gone so far, and unwilling to lose the benefit of his past subscriptions, prevailed with him to go on. Having gained ground upon him thus far, they grew bold and barefaced; and, in the fifth paper (which is in Fox's Martyrology, and has been commonly thought to be his only recantation), they required him to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian heresies and errors; to acknowledge the one holy catholic church to be that whereof the pope is the head; and to declare him the supreme bishop, and Christ's vicar, to whom all Christians ought to be subject.

Then followed an express acknowledgment of transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, purgatory, and of all the doctrines of the church of Rome in general; with a prayer to God to forgive his past opposition to them; and an earnest intreaty to all, who had been misled by his doctrine and example, to return to the unity.

unity of the church. And yet even this, full and express as it was, did not give content; but a sixth was still required; which was drawn up in such strong and ample terms, that nothing was capable of being added to it; containing a prolix acknowledgment of all the popish errors and corruptions, and a most grievous accusation of himself as a blasphemer, an enemy of Christ, and a murderer of souls; on account of his being the author of king Henry's divorce; and of all the calamities, schisms, and heresies, of which that was the fountain. This last paper he subscribed on the eighteenth of March; not in the least suspecting that the papists designed, notwithstanding all these subscriptions, to bring him to the stake; and that the writ was already signed for his execution.

These six papers were, soon after his death, sent to the press by Bonner; and published, with the addition of another, which they had prepared for him to speak at St. Mary's before his execution; and, though he then spake to a quite contrary effect, and revoked all his former recantations, yet Bonner had the confidence to publish this to the world, as if it had been approved and made use of by the archbishop.

The day appointed for his execution was the twenty-first of March; and Dr. Cole was sent to Oxford to prepare a sermon for the occasion. The day before, Cole visited him in the prison, whither he was now removed; and
asked

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asked him, if he stood firm in the faith he had subscribed? To which Cranmer gave a satisfactory answer. The next morning Cole visited him again; exhorted him to constancy, and gave him money to dispose of to the poor, as he saw convenient.

Soon after, he was brought to St. Mary's church, and placed on a low scaffold over against the pulpit. Then Dr Cole began his sermon; the chief scope whereof was, to endeavour to give some reasons why it was expedient that Cranmer should suffer, notwithstanding his recantation: and, in the close, he addressed himself particularly to the archbishop, exhorting him to bear up with courage against the terrors of death; and, by the example of the thief on the cross, encouraged him not to despair, since he was returned, though late, into the bosom of the catholic church, and to the profession of the true apostolical faith.

The archbishop, who, till now, had not the least notice of his intended execution, was struck with horror at the base inhumanity and unparalleled cruelty (not to be exceeded in the infernal regions!) of their proceedings. It is utterly impossible to express what inward agony he felt, and what bitter anguish his soul was perplexed with. During the whole sermon he wept incessantly: sometimes lifting up his eyes to Heaven, sometimes casting them down to the ground, with marks of the utmost dejection.

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When it was ended, being moved to make a confession of his faith, and give the world satisfaction of his dying a good catholic, he consented, and, kneeling down, began the following prayer :

“ O Father of Heaven ! O Son of God, Redeemer of the world ! O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both, three persons and one God ! have mercy upon me, the most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner ! I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more greivously than tongue can express ! Whither, then, shall I go ? or, Where shall I fly for succour ? To heaven, I am ashamed to lift up mine eyes ; and, on earth, I find no refuge ! What shall I then do ? Shall I despair ? God forbid ! O, good God, thou art merciful, and refuselt none who come unto thee for succour ! To thee, therefore, do I run ; to thee do I humble myself ; saying, O Lord, my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me, for thy infinite mercy ! O God, the Son, wast thou not made man ? this great mystery was not wrought for few or small offences only : neither didst thou give thy son to die, O God the Father, for our smaller crimes, but for the greatest sins of the whole world ; so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart, as I do now in this moment. Wherefore take pity on me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy : for, though my sins be great, yet thy
mercy

mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy name's sake, and that it may be glorified thereby, and for thy dear son Jesus Christ's sake; in whose words I conclude: Our Father, &c."

HAVING finished the Lord's Prayer, he rose from his knees; and, after he had exhorted the people to a contempt of the vanities of this sinful and deceitful world, a patient obedience to the queen, mutual love and charity, and bounty to the poor; he told them, that, being now on the brink of eternity, he would freely declare unto them his real faith, and opinion, without the least reserve or dissimulation. Then he repeated the Apostle's Creed, and professed his belief thereof, and of all things contained in the Old and New Testament: after which he declared his great and unfeigned repentance, for having, contrary to his faith, subscribed the popish heresies; lamented, with many tears, his grievous fall; and declared, that the hand, which had so offended, should be burnt before the rest of his body. Then he renounced the pope, in the most express terms; and professed his belief concerning the Eucharist, to be the same with what he had asserted in his book against Gardiner.

This was a grievous disappointment to the papists; they made loud clamours, and charged him with hypocrisy and falshood. To which he meekly replied, That he was a plain man, and never acted the hypocrite but when he was seduced by them to a recantation.—

Upon

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Upon this they hurried him to the stake, to which he approached with a cheerful countenance; and, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of many of the papists, continued still to declare his utter abhorrence of the popish errors, and hearty repentance for having recanted.

After this, he kneeled down and prayed; and then, having undressed himself, and taken leave of his friends, he was bound to the stake. As soon as the fire was kindled, he stretched forth his right arm, and held it, stedfastly and without shrinking, in the flame (only once he wiped his face with it) till it was quite consumed, which was some time before the fire reached his body, nor expressing any great sense of pain. He often cried out, "This unworthy hand! this unworthy hand;" and, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, expired, with the dying words of St. Stephen in his mouth: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

He was a man naturally of a mild and gentle temper; not easily provoked, and yet so easy to forgive, and toward good for evil, that it became a kind of proverb concerning him, "Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live."

His candour and sincerity, faithfulness and integrity, meekness and humility, were admired by all who conversed with him: and, when he was in power, his lenity to the papists was so great, that he was charged with
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remifness^d and negligence: but his reply was, That men ought to have time allowed them to difentangle themfelves from their prejudices; and that, in the mean time, gentle ufage was more likely to have a better influence on them than could be expected from rigorous treatment.

He had, by his interceffion with king Henry, preferved the prefent queen's life, when her father's anger was inflamed to fuch an extravagant pitch, and her ruin feemed fo irrevocably fixed, that neither the duke of Norfolk, nor bifhop Gardiner, durft interpofe a word in her favour, left they fhould perifh with her: but the ungrateful queen, forgetting this noble fervice, and his eminent zeal for her fucceffion, could not reft till ſhe had brought him to the ftake.

As to his learning, he was an excellent divine. His knowledge in the fcriptures and fathers was equalled by few of his time: he was alfo well read in the canon and civil laws, and not unacquainted with the more polite part of learning. He had, in two folio volumes, made large collections from the fcriptures, fathers, councils, and fchoolmen; and digefted them into common places: by which he bravely juftified the Englifh reformation, and fhewed how far the church of Rome had degenerated from the doctrine, worfhip, and difcipline, of the primitive church.

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These valuable remains, after they had been, for some time lost, the papists endeavouring, to have them suppressed, were, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, happily recovered by archbishop Parker.



T H E



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Bishop Gardiner.

THE LIFE OF

STEPHEN GARDINER.

THIS great man was an able lawyer, a learned divine, and shrewd statesman, being bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, in the sixteenth century. He was born of obscure parents at Bury St. Edmond, in the ~~county of Suffolk~~ but some very good authorities give us to understand, that he was the illegitimate son of a prelate nobly descended and royally allied, who took pains to conceal a circumstance so discrediting to himself, by bestowing his mistress on one of his meaner servants, whose name this infant bore: there appears to be the greatest probability that this was really the case: and, from an original picture of his, painted by Holben, we have good grounds to conclude, that his birth ought to be fixed to 1483.

We know nothing of his education, or the manner in which he passed his youth; but, that he was sent to the university of Cambridge, where he studied in Trinity-hall with great diligence and success. He was distinguished there by his quick parts, his correct pen, his elegance in writing, and speaking

Latin, and for his extraordinary stile in Greek, which procured him very high compliments, as to his acquisitions in literature, when he was in no condition to reward flatterers. In process of time he applied himself entirely to the civil and canon laws, for which that learned foundation was very famous.

The reputation he attained at Cambridge, soon opened him a passage into the favour and confidence of several of the greatest men of that age. First, as some report, he was taken under the protection of that generous and potent peer, Thomas, duke of Norfolk; and afterwards received into the family of ~~the~~ still more potent cardinal Wolley, in quality of secretary: but, whatever hopes he might entertain of rising at court, he had still academical honours in view; and, in 1520, he received the degree of doctor of civil law; and, the year following, he was made doctor of canon-law also. There is no question that, as the cardinal of York's secretary, he had a good provision made for him; but this must have been by way of pension or salary; for preferment, so far as we find yet, he had none.

In 1525, he was, by an accident, admitted at once into the king's presence and favour, to the great satisfaction of the powerful cardinal his master; though afterwards, as the politicians remarked, the cardinal sunk in the same proportion as this servant of his rose.

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At this juncture, the king's affairs at Rome were but in an untoward situation, the Roman pontiff, Clement VII. having address enough to feed the king's agents with fair promises, according to the standing maxims of that court ; but, in effect, making no progress at all towards the king's point ; which was his obtaining a divorce from his queen, Catharine of Arragon. His majesty resolved to send some person thither, in whom he could entirely confide, and of whose abilities and attachment he had a like opinion. After much consideration, he fixed upon our doctor, now become a ~~master of Trinity-hall~~; and, as bishop Burnet remarks, esteemed, at that time, the best civil lawyer in England ; to whom he joined Edward Fox, provost of King's College, in Cambridge.

These commissioners departed in February, 1528. In their journey towards Italy, they executed a commission at the court of Paris, where, by warm and vigorous representations of what their master had done, and might do, for king Francis, they obtained that monarch's letter to the pope, in as strong terms as could be desired, in support of king Henry's demands. When they came to Oviato, where the pope then was, Dr. Gardiner used free language with his holiness, shewed him the danger he was in of losing the king by playing a double game ; and how much injury he would do the cardinal if he failed his expectations. By these measures all was obtained

which his instructions required, and a new commission, directed to the cardinals Wolsey and Campegius, was issued.

In the course of this long embassy, the pope, whose mind was continually perplexed, and to whom the imperial, French, and English ministers allowed no quiet, fell dangerously ill; the disorders of his affections operating upon the humours of his body: and this, as might be expected, gave a new turn to the intrigues of Rome.

Dr. Gardiner had as large a share in these as any minister; for he laboured the cause of the cardinal of York, ~~in case of his death~~ made way for a new election: he also managed the whole affair with his holiness much to the satisfaction of the king, the cardinal, and Anne Bullen; all of whom writ him most thankful and affectionate letters; till, finding the pope was determined to do nothing, Henry called Gardiner from Rome, in order to make use of him in the management of his cause before the legantine court.

Upon his return, he had the archdeaconry of Norfolk bestowed upon him by bishop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained some favours from the pope. He was installed on the first of March, 1529; and this, as far as appears, was his first preferment in the church: but in the state his growth was quicker; for the king, having constant need of his service, and not esteeming it proper to use it while he belonged to another, took him from

from his master Wolsey, and declared him secretary of state.

In this situation he was considered as having a large share in the management of all affairs; and was particularly advised with by the king, when Cardinal Campegio declared that the cause was avoked to Rome.

When, in consequence of these proceedings, Wolsey declined in favour, in his distress he had recourse to his old servant, then secretary; and, though some have insinuated the contrary, he met with as sincere returns of gratitude and friendship, as he could desire or expect.

The year ensuing opened with the most important service, at least as his master conceived it, that had been as yet rendered him by Dr. Gardiner; and which, nevertheless, does more honour to his abilities than his virtue: and this was, to manage the university of Cambridge so as to procure their declaration in the king's cause, after Dr. Cranmer's book should appear in support of it. This, in conjunction with Dr. Fox, he accomplished, though not without much artifice and address, as his own letters shews; which sufficiently demonstrates, that men, and even great bodies of men, have been much the same in all ages. After this great exploit, as it was then thought, his ascent in the church was marvelously quickened.

In the spring of the year 1531, he was installed archdeacon of Leicester, resigning that

of Norfolk, which he had before; and, towards the close of the month of September ensuing, he also resigned that in favour of his coadjutor Dr. Edward Fox, who became afterwards bishop of Hereford. In the month of October, he was incorporated at the university of Oxford; and, on the twenty-seventh of November, 1531, he was consecrated bishop of Winchester, contrary to what many writers assert, that he was not promoted to this see till about three years after. On the fifth of December following, the temporalities were restored; which is a sufficient proof, that the former is the right date.

Dr. Gardiner, it seems, was not apprized of the king's intentions, who would sometimes roast him soundly, and, at the instant he bestowed it, put him in mind of it. "I have," said he, "often squared with you, Gardiner, (a word he used for these kind of rebukes) but I love you never the worse, as the bishopric I give you will convince you."

He sat with Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, when that prelate pronounced the sentence of divorce against queen Catharine; or, rather, declared her marriage with the king null and void, on the twentieth of May, 1533. The same year he was sent over to Marseilles, that he might have an eye to the interview between the French king and the pope; from whence his master suspected some detriment might spring: and there he intimated the appeal of Henry VIII. to a general council

council, in case the pope should pretend to proceed in his cause : and he did the like on the behalf of the archbishop of Canterbury, who made a particular application to him for that purpose.

Upon his return to England, he was called upon, as other bishops were, not only to acknowledge and yield obedience to the king as supreme head of the church, but to defend it; which he did : and this defence, or court-sermon, he published : and this is that celebrated piece entitled, " Of True Obedience." His pen was made use of upon other occasions, and he never ~~was~~ ^{was} vindicating the king's proceedings in the business of the divorce, the subsequent marriage, or throwing off the domination of the see of Rome ; which writings then acquired him the highest reputation. • • •

In the next year, 1535, he had some dispute with archbishop Cranmer, on account of his visiting his diocese ; upon which occasion there appeared a good deal of heat on both sides. When he went over again to France, to resume his embassy, he had the ill luck to differ with another archbishop of Canterbury, as he afterwards became, Dr. Reginald Pole, then dean of Exeter, whom, as king Henry's bitterest enemy, he prevailed on the French king to remove out of his dominions ; whence those disputes grew which afterwards became public.

While he was thus employed, Crimisele demanded his opinion about a religious league with the princes of Germany; which, on that bottom, he dissuaded; and advised making an alliance, grounded on political motives, and strengthened by subsidies, which he thought would last longer, and answer the king's ends better. In 1533, he was sent ambassador, with Sir Henry Knevit, to the German Diet, where he is allowed to have acquired himself well in regard to his commission, but either fell into some suspicion, or was in danger of having something fastened to him, in respect to his secret correspondence with the pope, which at that juncture might have been his ruin. It is asserted, that he was chief instigator of those severities, and was the principal author of all the cruelties committed, about this time, upon heretics, as they were then called; which, being a matter of great consequence, the reader may expect should be more clearly discussed. The only way of doing this, will be to consider a few of those sanguinary proceedings in which he is said to have had the chief hand; for this will shew us what credit is due to the general suggestion, that persecution was the great object of his councils.

Amongst these, the first that occurs is the case of Lambert, who was burnt for denying the real presence in the sacrament, and which is commonly attributed to the virulent spirit of the bishop of Winchester. The statute, commonly

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commonly called the six articles, and which, it must be owned, was the law on which many were put to death, is attributed to his contrivance, and said to have been passed by his influence; having been warmly opposed, both by the archbishop, and the vicerent Cromwell; but those who alledge he had no credit with the king, and was little beloved by the people, cannot expect an implicit faith to attend such an assertion. That he was principally concerned in drawing it, and that he was very earnest in promoting it in the house of lords, in conjunction with the duke of Norfolk, and other lords spiritual and temporal, those must have but little knowledge in English history who will attempt to deny. It was not long after this, that Robert Barnes fell under persecution, and, in the issue, was condemned to be burnt; who, because he shewed particular zeal against bishop Gardiner, and was first committed to prison for want of respect to him in a sermon, he is presumed to have been the author of all his sufferings, and the person by whose power that unfortunate sinner was at length brought to the stake; which is mentioned as a second instance of his good will to persecution. There is no doubt, that, in the course of this reign, the bishop of Winchester must have done many things against his inclination, and several against his conscience. He was obliged to take a share in the divorce of Anne of Cleves, which was none of the most honour-

able; and he was likewise obliged to bear a part in that of queen Catharine Howard, which, considering his attachment to their most noble family, could be no very pleasing employment. But in these; and other compliances, he had many companions; and the excuses made for them by some great pens, may serve for him; or the reader will pass sentence as he pleases, since we have no intention to disguise faults, but to disclose truths.

Upon the death of Sir Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, he was elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, 1540; which preferment was very acceptable to him. He still preserved his mastership of Trinity hall; and it was well he did preserve it, since, in the next reign, this, in most peoples opinion, preserved the foundation. As he was elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge, without influence, he was very assiduous in his office, that he might conciliate the affections of its members, and did all he could to assist them with his interest at court, which, when he had done any great service, was very good. Certain it is, that whatever power or preferments his compliances obtained under this monarch were dearly purchased, since they were held in continual hazard, and imbibbered with violent storms of royal resentment; which, though, as the prelate himself says, he knew how to sustain without sinking, must, nevertheless, be exceedingly distasteful.

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In some conjunctures too, we are satisfied, they filled him with many apprehensions, and, though he might be dextrous in sometimes shifting off the king's ill-humours, yet at others, how great or how alert soever his spirit might be, he was forced to bear slights with patience; and even to submit to very disagreeable supplications and expressions of deep humility, and great sense of his own failings, directly contrary to the conviction of his conscience and understanding.

In the time of king Henry, these were indispensable conditions of ministerial greatness; nor was there any such thing as enjoying court-favours, without being exposed also to threats and frowns. Bishop Gardiner felt these, as Cranmer and others did alternately; living now in the sun-shine, and by and by in the shade, or rather, under a cloud. But, in the latter end of the king's life, the prospect grew darker than ever. In 1544, if we may rely on the credit of John Fox, who assures us he had what he relates from one Morrice, who was secretary to archbishop Cranmer, this prelate had a very narrow escape from the greatest dangers to which he was ever exposed in his whole life. He had a secretary, and a relation, one German Gardiner, who is said to have been much in his favour, and who had distinguished himself by his conferences with John Frith, the martyr, an account of which he published. This young clerk being suspected in the matter of the king's supremacy,

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cy, a prosecution was commenced against him ; and, his obstinacy being great, he was executed as a traitor, March 1544. The enemies of the bishop, and, as Fox says, the duke of Suffolk particularly, suggested to the king, that it was very likely, notwithstanding all he had written, that he was of the secretary's opinion, and that, if he was once in the tower, matter enough might be found against him ; on which his majesty consented to send him thither. But the bishop, having intelligence of this, went immediately to the king, submitted with the utmost humility, confessed whatever his majesty charged him with, and, to the no small disappointment of his enemies, by complying with the king's humour, and shewing the deepest concern for his real or pretended failings, obtained full pardon. Yet after this, we may suppose, provoked by such usage, for, as Fox states it, one cannot avoid seeing it was a design to destroy him at any rate ; he thought of resigning upon this invention, and of turning their own artillery upon his adversaries ; particularly against Cranmer, as we have shewn in that preceding life, with the issue of their difference.

After this, the king opening himself to bishop Gardiner, upon some suspicions he entertained of his last queen, Catherine Parr, as inclined to heresy ; he so far improved these jealousies, as to prepare a paper of articles against her, which the king inserted, and it was agreed to send her to the Tower ; but the chap-

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chancellor, who was entrusted with this paper, dropped it out of his bosom, and it was immediately carried to the princess. She so wrought upon the king's affections, as to dispel his suspicions; and this brought severe reproaches upon the chancellor, and the king's resentment against the bishop grew so strong, that he would never see his face afterwards.

We need not wonder, if, standing in this light with the king, when drawing towards his latter end, he left him out of his will, and did not appoint him one of the counsellors to prince Edward, as he once intended. Sanders alledges another reason for this, which was, that Gardiner, taking some favourable opportunity, persuaded the king to restore the supremacy to the pope, either by a solemn declaration in parliament, if there was time to call one, or by an authentic act of his own, if there was not; which would sufficiently manifest his intention. In this respect, the king, as he tells the story, soon after changed his mind; and thence proceeded his enmity to Gardiner. But all is pure fiction, for bishop Gardiner himself, in a sermon before king Philip and queen Mary, mentions some such thoughts in the king during the northern rebellion; and, had there been a grain of truth in it, no doubt would have mentioned his inclination at this time. Besides, there actually was a parliament then in being, which was dissolved at his death. Some other reasons were assigned for the king's excluding him in his

his testament with no better foundation. But whatever usage he might meet with, at any time from his master, he shewed, upon all occasions, very high respect for his memory, and ever spoke and wrote of him with great deference; and though Fox treats ~~that~~ very coarsely on that head, yet others have thought there was in it as much of prudence as of gratitude. For was his conduct less worthy in the reign of king Edward VI. while he would never set a hand to the great work of reformation; though he would not oppose it, farther than by humbly remonstrating against it. However this could not prevent his imprisonment, which, as a sensible author observes, was in all respects extraordinary, and out of the common forms of justice.

He was sent for, when in London, to attend the council, three weeks before the visitors, then appointed, came into his diocese; and, because he would not promise to receive the homilies, and pay obedience to whatever the king's visitors might require, the council, notwithstanding his close reasoning the point, as to its consistency with law, and his earnest entreaty to give him a little space to consider, committed him close prisoner to the Fleet. He was there, as we see by his letters and petitions, very strictly kept, and very indifferently used; which must have been by order, since John Fox has marked on the margin of one of his applications for redress, that the warden of the Fleet was his friend. In the end he was discharged

charged like a common malefactor, under colour of the king's general pardon, though never charged judicially with any offence. The very dates prove these facts; he was committed September the twenty-fifth, the parliament assembled November the fourth, was prorogued December the twenty-fourth, and he was set at liberty before the close of that year, 1547. Besides this, all that we have advanced is supported by unquestionable authorities. In the course of this imprisonment, it came out, that the famous state-book of religion, published by authority, under the title of "The Erudition of Christian Man," was compiled chiefly by bishop Gardiner. By comparing this with the religious systems in the reign of Edward VI. the difference may be seen between his notions and those of Cranmer; and from hence we may discern, the probability of his being in earnest in his declarations, without supposing, as almost all writers do, misled therein by the papists themselves, that in his heart he was a bigot to popery. Archbishop Cranmer was once as well pleased with the book afore-mentioned as any body, and had recommended it as strenuously; but now, having changed his mind as to the real presence, he was not willing the world should know its true author; and Gardiner, being touched with his insinuations, replied very eagerly in defence of his book.

Upon his obtaining his liberty, the bishop went down to his diocese, and there was so far from

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from creating any trouble or disturbance, that he was remarkably active and diligent in giving obedience, and seeing that it was given, to the laws concerning religion; but those who had a dislike to him, would not suffer him to be long quiet. They were no sooner informed of his returning to town, than they procured an order for him to come before the council, where he was roughly treated, and then directed to keep his house till he gave satisfaction, which was to be done in a sermon preached before the king and his ministers, in a public audience, for the matter of which, he was directed, as well what he should not, as what he should say, by Sir William Cecil. On St. Peter's day, the bishop did accordingly preach, but was so far from giving satisfaction, that the very next day, June the thirtieth 1548, he was sent to the Tower, and continued there a prisoner during all that reign. It was very near a year, notwithstanding repeated applications; that he continued there, without having scarce any notice taken of him, his chaplain having admittance but once when he was ill, and then restrained because his life was not thought in danger. When the protector was deposed, or some small time before he had hopes given him of his release, and from those it is likely who could have done it if they had judged it proper. But finding himself deceived, he took the freedom of applying himself, by letter, to the council, of which

which we have probably a true, though certainly a very unpolished, account from honest John Stowe; who likewise tells us, very plainly, why he published it; which, in effect, was, that no body else would.

When the duke of Somerset, though removed from his high office, found means to come again into power, and to be called to council, the affair of bishop Gardiner was brought once more on the carpet, and the duke and others, by virtue of an order of that board, went to confer with him in the Tower, June the ninth 1550. It was proposed that he should make a submission for what was passed, should testify his approbation of all that had been done in religion since he had been laid aside, and that he should promise obedience for the future. The two last points Winchester readily answered to, and actually signed all that was expected from him; but refused his assent to the first, insisting upon his innocence. Much solicitation there was, with what intent one cannot say; at last, the bishop, perceiving they rose in their demands, told them roundly he would do nothing in a prison; and, that he did not seek either favour or pity, but justice. On the nineteenth of July he was brought to the council, and being asked, whether he would subscribe the last article or not, he answered in the negative; and it was thereupon declared to him, that his bishopric should be sequestered; and, if in three months he did not comply, they would go still farther.

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When the three months were fully expired, and the bishop remained in the same sentiments, a resolution was taken to proceed judicially against him, in order to deprive him of the see of Winchester, and what other preferments he had under the authority of the king's commission, in which the archbishop presided. These commissioners began their proceedings December the fifteenth, and ended them February the fourteenth following, having had in all two and twenty sessions, when the grand affair was finished, and the bishop deprived, for irreverence to the king's authority; though Gardiner very prudently laid the weight of the whole on the delegators, who deprived him, and, by protesting and appealing to the king, shewed plainly that all the hopes of redress he had, lay in the crown, and must spring from the exercise of that supremacy to which they represented him. All the remaining part of his reign, however, the bishop remained in the same state, that is, a close prisoner in the Tower; and yet, not so strictly kept, at least all the latter part of the time, as the order of the council seemed to require; for certain it is, that in this space, he not only wrote many controversial pieces, but also composed variety of Latin poems, and translated into verse several beautiful passages in the books of Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Job, and other poetical parts of the Old Testament. He also kept up his spirits all that time, and was wont to say very confidently,

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as either believing it, or desiring to be thought to believe it, that he should live to see another turn, and another court, in which he should be as great as ever.

On the death of king Edward, no doubt, he foresaw that turn was near, notwithstanding the new court set up in his neighbourhood, for that unfortunate lady, queen Jane. On the nineteenth of July 1553, queen Mary, was publicly proclaimed by that very council, which the day before owned the right of her competitor, and gave her the coarse and injurious title of ballard of Henry VIII. On the third of August the queen made her solemn entry into the Tower, when bishop Gardiner, in the name of himself and his fellow prisoners, the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, the lord Courtney, and others of high rank, made a congratulatory speech to her majesty, who gave them all their liberties. On the eighth of the same month he performed in the queen's presence, the obsequies for the late king Edward, whose body was buried in Westminster, with the English service, by archbishop Cranmer, the funeral sermon being preached by bishop Day. On the ninth, bishop Gardiner went to Winchester-house, in Southwark, after a confinement of somewhat more than five years. On the twenty-third he was declared chancellor of England, though his patent did not pass till the twenty-first of September. On the first of October he had the honour of crowning the queen, and on the

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the fifth of the same month he opened the first parliament in her reign. By this time he was in possession again of his academical honours; for as at the beginning of his misfortunes the university of Cambridge elected in his place the duke of Somerset, and, on his fall, the duke of Northumberland; so when he fell, they chose the bishop of Winchester for their chancellor, and restored him also to his lordship of Trinity-hall, then possessed by doctor ~~Wolfe~~.

At this juncture, the bishop of Winchester, either through the queen's esteem for, and confidence in, him; or, as some suggest, though without any great evidence, through the recommendation of Charles V. was possessed of a larger compass of civil and ecclesiastical power, than any English minister ever enjoyed, except cardinal Woolsey; and in his management of this, in all its various branches, though taken from so long an imprisonment, and labouring under the weight of so great an age as seventy, his bitterest enemies must allow he gave indubitable marks of superior talents. If contriving to accomplish, and that in a short time, things so great and difficult, as to surpass all men's expectations, be, as the world seems agreed they are, sure signs of superior talents. The queen is said, by most of our historians, to have recommended three great points to the bishop of Winchester, with equal concern, all of which were attended with almost equal difficulties; the first was, the

the clearing the legitimacy of her birth, and annulling the divorce of her mother; though this was apparently bastardizing her sister, and presumptive successor. The next was, restoring the old religion, and reconciling the nation to Rome, in the same manner as before her father's desertion. The third was, obtaining the consent of parliament, to her marriage with prince Philip; which was so unpopular that the former house of commons prepared an address to the queen not to marry a foreigner.

Amongst all the secret and open obstacles, which were not a few, that our minister had to overcome in the prosecution of these measures, none probably gave him more trouble than getting over his dislike to every one of them. The procuring the divorce was the first source he rendered the father, and now reversing this divorce, and branding all who had been concerned in it, was the first service required by the daughter. He had also assisted, promoted, and defended, the king's supremacy, which made way for all that followed, as much or more than any in the kingdom, and had the reputation also of penning what was published in defence of that prince's marriage with Anne Bullen, and all that happened thereupon, which was now to be condemned as null and illegal. Besides, so far as we are guided by unquestionable authorities, this seems to have been going greater lengths than he intended; for hitherto he had

had not entered into a correspondence with the pope, or done any thing in ecclesiastical affairs but in virtue of the queen's supremacy, an authority more agreeable to his system of divinity than that of the Roman pontiff; but in that particular the queen was inflexible, and her passion as strong to relinquish this title to the pope, as her father's ambition had been to take it from him. The Spanish match crossed the mind of Winchester, as much as it did that of the nation; he foresaw that many troubles would follow from it, and that the queen would enjoy none of that felicity with which she flattered herself in the prospect. But he well knew what a temper she inherited from her parents, and that she would find ministers enough to carry into execution all that she proposed. Upon this consideration, joined to a sense of his own danger from what was passed, if a new revolution happened, he resolved to remain where he was, and employ his utmost skill to render the measures of queen Mary's reign as beneficial to herself, and as little burthensome to her people, as in their nature they could be.

The convocation being assembled, he procured such questions to be moved there, as he judged conducive to the change he proposed to make; yet went no farther than deciding the real presence in the sacrament, which made way for reviving the old service on the twenty-first of December. In parliament he went the same pace, repealing, by a single law,

law, more acts, passed in the reign of king Edward, respecting religion; by which those who were of that religion countenanced by king Henry, became as safe as they could wish; and even the grossest papists were out of danger, yet not restored to power. The queen's legitimacy was established, the divorce declared null and void, the whole fault being thrown upon archbishop Cranmer.

These extraordinary changes were wrought rather by address and fair speeches, than by violence and corruption, though some of our writers say the contrary. As to force, the queen, a few guards excepted, had none; and her care as to money was the same, though the bishop of Winchester was a frugal minister. But what seems to put corruption out of the question in this parliament, is, that after all, the members could not be brought to relish the queen's marriage to Don Philip; and therefore, the chancellor advised the dissolving this assembly before the close of the year. And thus two of the three great points were accomplished. But much greater difficulties were to be surmounted before the third could be brought to bear. The marriage treaty was left entirely in the hands of bishop Gardiner, and it is allowed he managed it very dextrously. He made use of the great reluctance shewn by the last parliament, to procure such articles as might secure the nation against the ambition of Philip and his Spaniards, and foreseeing expences might follow upon this

match, notwithstanding the hard bargain he had made, he procured, as is said, half a million sterling from the emperor, to facilitate the approbation of a new parliament. But while these preparations employed those in the cabinet, such as abhorred this match were contriving very formidable measures for its disappointment. Sir Thomas Wirt of Kent, and Sir Peter Carew of Cornwall, laid the plan of a deep and dangerous insurrection, in which the unfortunate duke of Suffolk had just share enough to bring his own head, and, which was much more to be regretted, the heads of lady Jane, and her husband lord Guilford Dudley, to the block. The whole scheme miscarried by the ill management, and, to say the truth, the want of honesty in the chiefs.

All insurrections, when suppressed, are useful to those against whom they are raised, more especially when managed by men of parts and dexterity. None knew better how to procure, or to use advantages, than the bishop of Winchester; and he so well managed men's hopes and fears, with every other help he had, that when the queen's second parliament met, April the second 1554, it very soon appeared he might prevail on them to give a sanction to his measures, whatever they were. The terms of the queen's marriage, as he settled them, met with very little opposition; and as for making severe laws against heretics, it is allowed the bishop had no other trouble

trouble than to restrain them, which in several instances he did. His own and the wiser bishop's zeal, not flaming near so high as that of this house of commons. In the whole of his conduct through this parliament, over which he had as much influence as minister ever had, there was nothing done that was either unworthy of his station, or injurious to his country; on the contrary, foreseeing that some who had access to the queen might make an ill use of her confidence, and engage her, by plausible promises, to countenance things every way beneath her, and dangerous to her subjects, he procured this to be put out of her power, by a short law, drawn by his direction. But when the great measures aimed at were adjusted, the chancellor, supposing that what remained for accomplishing the whole of the queen's plan, might be compassed more effectually after the marriage; the queen, on the fifth of May, came to the parliament, and, having given her consent to fifteen bills, dissolved that assembly.

All obstacles to the marriage being now removed, and the circumstances of the house of Austria making it necessary to hasten it, king Philip put to sea, and arrived, towards the close of July, at Southampton, escorted by a considerable fleet, which, however, was obliged to pay homage to that of England, in the narrow seas; such was the temper of those times, and the vigour of that administration. He proceeded, with a numerous train of nobility,

bility, from Southampton to Winchester, where he was received, and splendidly entertained, by the bishop; on St. James's day, the tutelary saint of Spain, he was, by that prelate, solemnly married to the queen, in the cathedral, the emperor Charles V. resigning to him the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and many nominal sovereignties, upon the marriage. In his way to London, the king took Windsor, where he was installed knight of the garter, and made his entry into this capital on the eleventh of August 1554, with prodigious magnificence, and, like all new princes, with universal acclamations.

The chancellor, well knowing this fair weather would not continue long, resolved to avail himself of it while it lasted; and, therefore, called a new parliament about the middle of November the same year. A very little time after the session began, cardinal Pole came into England, with the title of legate, not much to the real good liking either of the king or chancellor.

By these gradations all things were brought back to their old situation; and the sanguinary laws for repressing heresy, revived and carried into execution.

Thus the bishop of Winchester paid the full price of his exaltation to the ministry, and obtained, in spite of all difficulties, all that the queen had desired. But the joy in this was quickly troubled by the bloody persecution set on foot in almost all parts of the kingdom,

kingdom, whether by the advice, and with the entire concurrence, of the bishop of Winchester, as many historians affirm, it is but just should be more largely discussed than the bounds of this narrative will allow. Certain it is, that, to this time, our prelate had not discovered any thing of this disposition. He is indeed reputed, by many of our historians, a great dissembler; but in this acted quite another part. In all public transactions he professed himself always with the same opinion with the council, and did not aim at screening himself from popular odium, by putting on a cloak of moderation. But in all the trials, where, by virtue of cardinal Pole's commission, he was obliged to be, he was exceedingly assiduous to shew the prisoners, that, in the matter of the real presence, which was most insisted on, they might easily save their lives, by complying with subscriptions drawn in very general terms; till, by foul language, they convinced him that he had to do with men who were as little to be wheedled as frightened out of their principles. This surely proves that he was not desirous of severities, or persecuted for the sake of gratifying a cruel temper, or to revenge past injuries. And that such protestants as were of milder natures, and content to reserve themselves for better times, when driven to distress, were well received by him, and not barely screened but encouraged and protected, without offering any violence to their consciences, farther than locking them

up, and committing the key to the custody of their own discretions, we may very safely affirm is a point out of dispute. For towards the close of the year, it was strongly reported, and indeed generally believed, that the queen was with child; for which rejoicings were made, and prayers appointed for her safe delivery. The chancellor made a right use of this wrong notion; he persuaded her majesty to set several prisoners at liberty, that had been near a year in confinement, and for that purpose went in person to the Tower, January the eighteenth 1555, and discharged the archbishop of York, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir James Crafts, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Edward Warner, Sir George Harper, Sir William Saintlow, Sir Gawin Carew, Sir Andrews Dudley, William Gibs, Carthbert Vaughan, John Harrington, Esqrs. Mr. Tremain, and others. One of these had a little before taken the liberty of expostulating with him very freely, notwithstanding which he had (beyond his expectations perhaps) his liberty amongst the rest. His son has given us, in an account of this adventure, some passages relating to bishop Gardiner, very well worth notice.

The three months next ensuing, bishop Gardiner was employed in carrying the laws lately revived against heretics, into execution; and sat often (to his eternal disgrace) by virtue of a commission from cardinal Pole, as the pope's legate, at Winchester house in Southwark, to examine such as were brought before

before him. Yet, we are told, he soon grew weary, and would proceed no farther; upon which the cruel and invidious task was put upon Bonner; neither was it long before he grew relax, till quickened by orders from the council, and other measures. But it farther appears in favour of Gardiner, that during his embassy, about this time, to the king of France, the great seal was put into the hands of William marquis of Winchester; and from the council-books it appears, good use was made of it for stirring up the persecution; for quickening of which, writ after writ was issued, and letters directed to the nobility and gentry, as well as clergy, exciting them to give their attendance, with their servants, at the burning of heretics; so that we see this cruel flame raged most when the bishop was abroad, and grew still higher after his death.

Upon his coming home, he declared plainly, he would have no farther hand in severities, and therefore those apprehended in his diocese were removed into that of London, and so put under the jurisdiction of Bonner, who in a short time fell off again, and had fresh reprimands from the king and queen for his relaxation and lenity. We may, from these instances, perceive, that some made their court to the queen, by promoting these cruel proceedings, and that they were neither pressed, nor could be impeded, by the bishop of Winchester. In matters of government, his influence was still without diminution, and, ac-

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cording to his advice, a parliament was summoned to meet in October; for it was one of his maxims, to have short sessions and frequent parliaments. He had projected some additional security for church and abbey lands, which, by a well-timed address from the convocation to the cardinal, which he put into his hands himself, he had, in some measure, preserved to all who possessed them; and this project was afterwards brought to bear by his friend, Mr. secretary Peck. October the twenty-first 1558, he opened the session, with a judicious speech, and was there again on the twenty-third, which was the last time of his appearing in that assembly.

Towards the close of this month, he fell ill, and continued to grow worse and worse to the thirteenth of November 1555, when he departed this life, about the age of seventy-two. He died at the royal palace of Whitehall, about one in the morning; and about three the same morning his body was carried over to Winchester-house, from whence the funeral was performed. His death was a great loss to the queen his mistress, who found no minister that could manage her affairs so well, or keep her on so good terms with the parliaments, from whom, during his administration, she received nothing, but lived upon the settled ordinary revenue of the crown, with some help, it may be, from the treasure brought over by king Philip. His pen also was of no small use, since in polemical writings he was inferior

inferior to none of his contemporaries. The fashion of those times allowed more to exterior expressions of funeral sorrow than ours, and by entertaining the eyes of the vulgar with a lugubrious spectacle of a great man's last journey, impressed on their minds a greater degree of reverence than could be wrought by words. In this point, there was a remarkable attention paid to the bishop; and an author has taken the pains to leave the ceremonies of his obsequies, clearly, circumstantially, and methodically set down: but this was an age, when there was more attention paid to sight than to the rest of the ten — and more money bestowed, and more dispende used, in setting out such a solemnity, than without such a detail as the above-mentioned could be easily imagined. Many intrigues were set on foot at court, on this great prelate's death, about filling his places, which occasioned some delay in disposing of them. The great seal was, in the mean time, put into the hands of Sir Nicholas Hare, master of the rolls, and, on New-year's-day following, given to Dr. Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York. In the chancellorship of Cambridge he was succeeded by cardinal Pole, who had some inclination to have sold his bishopric of Winchester, too, in commendam; but at length it was given to Dr. White, bishop of Lincoln, the modest cardinal contenting himself with a pension of one thousand pounds a year out of the revenue.

for the support of his dignity. As to the mastership of Trinity-hall, Dr. Mowse, who took it as a good protestant in king Edward's time, was now become so good a catholic as to take it again in queen Mary's time; and, in the days of Elizabeth, had a prebend of York bestowed on him, being once more become a protestant. As to the private estate of bishop Gardiner, he disposed of it by will, of which his two old friends, Sir Anthony Brown viscount Montacute, and Dr. Thomas Thirlby bishop of Ely, were the executors.





Cardinal Pool. J. R. S. 1890

THE LIFE OF

CARDINAL POLE.

REGINALD POLE, cardinal, was descended of royal blood, being a younger son of Sir Richard Pole, lord Montague, knight of the garter, and cousin-german to Henry VII. by Margaret, his wife, daughter of George, duke of Clarence, younger brother to king Edward IV. He was born at Tiverton, in Staffordshire, in the year 1500; and, after the greatest care had been taken by his mother to form his mind and manners from his cradle, he was sent, at seven years of age, to be instructed in grammar by the Carthusians, in the monastery at Shene, near Richmond, in Surry; and, at about the age of twelve, became a nobleman of Magdalen-colledge, in Oxford, where an apartment was provided for him in the president's lodgings. The famous Linacre, and William Latimer, two of the greatest masters of those times in the Greek and Latin tongues, were our young nobleman's principal preceptors; and he made a considerable progress in his studies under them.

In June, 1515, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, having first kept the regular exercise

exercise for it; and the same year supplicated the congregation for leave to wear such a habit and robes as were suitable to his birth, and to be admitted into the public library. Some time afterwards he entered into deacon's orders; and, on the nineteenth of March, 1517, was made prebendary of Roscomb, in the church of Salisbury; to which was added the prebendary of Yatminster Secunda, in the same church, on the tenth of April, 1519; the deanery of Wimbourne monastery, or minister, in Dorsetshire; and that of Exeter, in Devonshire, being conferred on him about the same time.

These early promotions were no more than the genuine effects of the munificent temper of king Henry VIII. to whom he was related, and who directed his breeding to the church, with a design to raise him to the highest dignities in it. Nor was Pole undeserving of the royal bounty. To a good share of natural parts were joined a sweet and noble temper, and a love of letters.

He was now nineteen years of age, and, having laid a good ground-work of learning at Oxford, it was determined, according to the custom of these times, to send him, for further improvement, to Italy, where the liberal arts and sciences then flourished. This destination was very agreeable to him; he had himself solicited it, and a support suitable to his rank was provided by the king, who allowed

gave him a large yearly pension, besides the profits of his dignities.

He went, therefore, accompanied with a learned attendance; and, on his arrival, after visiting several other universities, he made Padua his choice, then most flourishing for eloquence. Here he hired a handsome house, and settled a proper household. Such a distinguished figure could not fail of drawing the eyes of all the learned men in the place upon him; and put it into his power to make the best advantage of their abilities towards perfecting the plan of his studies. He likewise, at the same time, became the delight of that part of the world, for his learning, politeness, and piety. At the same time he grew not less the darling of his own country, where every one endeavoured to heap favours on him; particularly Fox, bishop of Winchester, made him fellow of the new-founded college of Corpus-Christi in Oxford, on the fourteenth of February, 1523. From Padua our nobleman went to Venice, where he continued for some time, and then visited some other parts of Italy.

Having spent five years abroad, he was recalled home; but being very desirous to see the jubilee, which was celebrated this year at Rome, he took a tour to that city; and, passing by the way of Florence, he was received honourably, and had presents made to him there as well as at other places on the road. At Rome, he was entertained with the
same

same respect, and, after he had satisfied his curiosity in visiting the court, the churches, religious houses, and rarities, he returned to England, before the expiration of 1525; and was received with great affection and honour, as well by the court as the nobility. But the world, however alluring, had no charms for his taste at present: devotion and study were his sole delight; and, in order to have a full and free enjoyment of them, he resolved to retire to his old habitation, among the Carthusians at Sherborne, having obtained a grant from the king of the apartment which Dr. Colet had lately built for his own use in the same exercises.

He had passed two years with great pleasure in this retirement, when king Henry VIII. began to start his scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with queen Catharine of Spain in order to a divorce. Pole, foreseeing the commotions which this incident must occasion, and that he should not escape being involved in them if he stayed in the kingdom, resolved to withdraw; and, making use of the pretence of completing his studies, he obtained his majesty's leave to go to Paris. Here, carrying some learned persons in his train, he passed his time in that tranquility, which is so much the desire of, and is so necessary for, studious persons; till the king, prosecuting the affair of the divorce, sent to the most noted universities in Europe for their opinion on his case.

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On this occasion, Pole was sent to, and desired to concur with the king's agents. This threw him into some perplexity for a while; but, at length, he resolved to leave the negotiation wholly to those who were joined with him in the commission; and to excuse himself to the king, as unfit for employ, since the course of his studies had lain another way. But Henry was so much displeased, that, when his kinsman returned home, not long after, he was advised, by all means, to clear himself of all disloyalty, and appease his majesty's anger: and, having averted the storm for the present, by his submission, he retired to his former habitation at Shene; where he prosecuted his studies and devotions undisturbed for the space of two years.

In the mean time, Henry, perceiving the court of Rome's intentions to baffle his proceedings, carried on, under their authority, against Catharine, kindled into a resolution to shake off the yoke of that assumed authority, and to rely wholly on his own subjects. This politic step brought new troubles upon Pole: he was now universally esteemed for his learning and piety; and was besides of the royal blood. It was observed, therefore, that his constant would be of great service as an example to the rest. Accordingly, no means were left untried to win him over; and, being irresistibly pressed on every side, he yielded, at length, to the occasion; and repaired to the king, with a design to give him satisfaction: but

but his conscience checking him the moment he was about to speak, he was not able to utter a word. The extremity inspired him with courage, and, quitting the former purpose, he spoke his mind to the king; which, being both as was not pleasing nor expected, Henry, with a countenance full of anger, put his hand, sometimes to his poniard hanging at his girdle, with an intention to kill him, but was overcome with the simplicity, humility, and submission of his kinsman's address, and dismissed him in tolerable temper, without urging the point any more.

Pole, however, being apprehensive that further danger would inevitably accrue to him, if he continued in England, laid hold of the king's pacific disposition, to apply to him, by some friends, for leave to withdraw, under a pretence for further improvement in the universities abroad; which he obtained; and his majesty was so far satisfied at present, that he continued his pension for some time.

The first place Pole went to, was Avignon, in France, which then flourished in the studies of the liberal arts and sciences. The town was under the pope's jurisdiction, and our author continued there unmolested for the space of a year; but finding the air not to agree with his constitution, he left it, and went to Padua, where before he had experienced a better air, besides good company, and the love of learned men. In this beloved university he fixed his residence the second time, making
excursions

excursions now and then for diversion to Venice. With regard to study, divinity had now his principal attention, yet not so as to exclude the inferior sciences. At the same time, learning and religion went hand in hand; nature had given him a strong turn to that kind of devotion which is characteristically distinguished in the Roman church by the name of piety.

There was one Mark, a monk, said to be a person of great learning, and greater piety, who then taught theology; with this master Pole was exceedingly delighted, and attended his lectures assiduously. In the same disposition, he admitted into an intimate familiarity Cosmo Sherius, bishop of Fano, a city in Umbria; in whom, though young, he found an eminent fund of knowledge in several branches of literature, joined to a singular honesty in manners and conversation, and an ardent desire of piety. At Venice also our nobleman became acquainted with the famous Gaspar Contarenus, who afterwards was elected into the college of cardinals, as likewise he did with Peter Caraffa, bishop of Theate, who, about that time, had founded a new religious order at Venice, called Theatines, but became afterwards the turbulent pope Paul IV. and an enemy to Pole.

Several other persons of the first reputation in the republic of letters, are ranked amongst his acquaintance: but, above all, there was none so familiar with him as a noble Venetian called

called ~~John~~ Priuli. He was a person of singular worth and integrity, and a friendship was now begun between them which ended not but with the death of Pole. Thus the days passed very agreeably in Italy, but fresh troubles were brewing in England.

Henry had not only divorced Catharine, but married Anne Bullen, and resolved to throw off the papal yoke, and assert his right to the supremacy, with the title of Supreme Head of the Church. To this end he had procured a book to be written in defence of that title by Dr. Richard Sampson, bishop of Chichester; and, observing the high esteem in which Pole was held, both at home and abroad, he was not a little desirous to have it confirmed by his kinsman. He therefore dispatched a courier with Dr. Sampson's book and a letter, requiring his opinion upon the matter. No body was better acquainted with the king's violent temper in general than Pole; the fate of Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher particularly had reached his ears; and, seeing the method practised in order to bring him over to acknowledge the new title, he persuaded himself that the like means were designed to bring on the like conclusion; and, that the present application was a snare, laid purposely to usher him to the block. He therefore contrived some excuses for deferring his answer; and, when he found no delays could prevail any longer, taking courage from
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the security of the pope's protection, he not only disapproved the king's divorce, and separation from the apostolic see, in answer for the present, but shortly after drew up his piece *Pro Unitate Ecclesiastica*, and sent it to king Henry. This confidence was a notorious proof of his zeal and attachment to the see of Rome. Besides using very rude and indecent language to bishop Simpson, he not only pressed the king earnestly to return to the obedience he owed to that see, but excited the emperor to revenge the injury done to his aunt, the divorced queen, with a great many sharp reflections.

Henry was much displeased with this conduct, and, knowing that the book could not long lie concealed in Italy, though Pole had promised not to publish it, sent for our author to come to England, that he might explain some passages of it to him; but Pole, well aware that it was made treason in England to deny his majesty's supremacy, which was the principal scope of his book, chose not to obey the call; but desired the king, as now being freed from her who had been the occasion of all this, to take hold of the present occasion, and redintegrate himself with the pope, and accept the council now summoned; whereby he might have the honour of being the cause of the reformation of the church in doctrine and manners; assuring him, that otherwise he would be in great danger.

This

his was the language of a superior. It was manifest from what fountain he now drew, and the king therefore resolved to keep measures with him no longer: accordingly, his pension was withdrawn; he was stripped of all his dignities in England; and an act of attainder of high-treason passed against him: but he was abundantly compensated for these losses and sufferings by the bounty of the pope and the emperor. He had been, as it is said, much against his own inclination, created a cardinal, in January preceding, by the title of S. Nereus and Achilleus; then of St. Mary, in Cosmedin; and, at length, of St. Prisca: and soon after was sent by the pope, with the character of Nuncio, both to France and Flanders; that, being near England, he might hold a correspondence with the catholics there, in order to keep them stedfast in the faith of that church.

At Paris he was received by the king very honourably, but did not stay long there; for Henry, being informed of it, sent to demand him of the French monarch; which being notified to him by that prince, he removed to Cambray, and put himself under the protection of the bishop there. Yet neither was this a place of safety for him, by reason of the war then between France and the empire, in which Henry was engaged; so that the English soldiers were continually harrassing those parts. The nuncio was therefore very desirous to
leave

leave the place, and the more for this reason, that he now heard of his being proclaimed a traitor in England, and a price set upon his head.

During this perplexity, cardinal Erardus, a Marchion, bishop of Liege, inviting him thither, he immediately posted from Cambray, and was received as a brother, and most liberally entertained. Here he continued six months, waiting till all things should be amended in England, according to the desire of France and the emperor; but these expectations proving vain, our nuncio found himself still in danger of being delivered up to Henry VIII. Hereupon he left Leige, and, by the pope's command, returned through Germany to Rome, where he was very graciously received; and, not long after, attended his holiness to Nice, to assist in making a peace between France and the empire: after which, he was employed by the pontiff to these two princes, and some others, to persuade them to enter into a league against England, in order to restore it to the ancient religion, cleanse it of heresy, and relieve the devotees to the apostolic see, then in a lingering and groaning condition, a thing of greater necessity and merit than to war against the Turk.

- To dispatch this embassy with quickness,
- and to avoid the toils of Henry VIII. our cardinal went incognito, and with a very few attendants, first to the emperor, then at Toledo, designing to proceed from thence to France.

But

His project being counterworked by Henry, the cardinal met with a cool reception from his imperial majesty; whereupon he returned by the same road to Avignon, where he acquainted the pope with his ill success, and, receiving a letter from his holiness to continue in those parts, he took this opportunity of making a visit at Carpentras to his acquaintance and beloved friend cardinal Jacob Sadollet; with whom he spent six months much to his satisfaction, and in the utmost safety, this place, as well as Avignon, being under the pope's jurisdiction; and, being recalled hence, and sent by the pope to Verona, he found much friendship and hospitality from John Matthew Gibert, bishop of that place. At length, his holiness, considering how to reward his services, sent him legate to Viterbo, an easy employ, and near the city, where he might reside entirely safe, and out of the reach of his enemies.

In this post he still maintained his character for piety and learning, and particularly obtained the love of the people by his moderation towards protestants; for which, however, he was charged by the bigots with favouring heresy. His eminency continued at Viterbo till 1543, when the pope, having called the council of Trent, appointed him, together with the cardinal of Paris, and cardinal John Merene, his three legates there; but, as the council could not then assemble, by reason of the wars which arose in Germany, and other Christian

Christian countries, Pole returned to ~~Vitrobo~~ between which place and Rome he passed his time, following his studies in great repose and tranquillity, till the pontiff, resolving not to have his views in calling a council defeated, issued a second citation for holding it at the same place, and appointed Pole again, but with two different cardinals, his legates there. Accordingly he attended in that council as long as he was able ; but the bad state of the air bringing a dangerous catarrh upon him, he obtained leave to go to Padua for the benefit of advice and a better air. After a while the council also was removed to Bononia on the same account. About which time, our cardinal, having recovered his health, returned to Rome, and was received very graciously, as usual, by the pope, who made him his chief counsellor in matters relating to kings and sovereign princes, and particularly when it was concluded to make a defence in writing, cardinal Pole was the penman. Thus, for instance, when the pope's power to remove the council was contested by the emperor's ambassador, Pole drew up a vindication of that proceeding ; and, when the emperor set forth the Interim, the same cardinal was employed to answer it.

This was in 1548, and pope Paul III. dying the next year, our cardinal was twice elected to succeed him, but refused both the elections; one as being too hasty, and without deliberation ; and the other, because it was done in
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the right time. Such an unexampled delicacy disgusted several of his friends in the conclave. They thereupon joined with the party of cardinal John Maria de Monte, bishop of Poletrina; who, by that means, being chosen pope, took the name of Julius III. This happened on the thirtieth of March, 1550; and the tranquility of Rome being soon after much disturbed by the wars in France, and on the borders of Italy, Pole retired, with the pope's leave, to a monastery of the Benedictines called Magazune, situated near the lake of Benacus, in the territory of Verona.

In this pleasant retirement he continued till the death of Edward VI. in July, 1553: but, on the accession of queen Mary, it was determined by the court of Rome, that Pole should be sent legate into England, as the fittest instrument, on all accounts, to effect the reduction of the kingdom to the obedience of the pope. The undertaking, however, required some consideration. The act of attainder, which had passed against him under Henry VIII. had been confirmed by Edward, and consequently stood still in force, both these princes were held in great esteem among the people. Our legate therefore did not think it safe to venture his person in England till he understood the true state of things there. However, it was not long before he received full satisfaction upon all these points, and accordingly set out for England, by the way of Germany, in the month of October this year,

1553:

1553; but he had not proceeded far in the emperor's dominions, when a message came to him from that prince, to put a stop to his farther progress at present. These were soon followed by an express from queen Mary to the same purpose, who, to keep him in good humour, sent him also the two acts that had passed, for the justification of her mother's marriage, and for bringing all things back to the state they were in at her father's death, desiring him likewise to send her a list of such persons as should be made bishops.

The cardinal being satisfied, that the true cause of this delay was to prevent his arrival in England before the queen's marriage to Philip should be completed, was not a little nettled at it, and wrote a letter to her majesty, wherein he said, he knew this stop to his journey came chiefly from the emperor, who was for pursuing such particular courses now, as himself had followed in the business of the interim, being resolved to have the state settled before she meddled with religion. That he had spoke to the emperor's confessor about it, and had convinced him of the impropriety of such courses, and set him to work on his master. He also told the queen, he was afraid carnal pleasures might govern her too much, and that she might thereby fall from her simplicity in Christ, wherein she had hitherto lived: he encouraged her therefore to put on a spirit of wisdom and courage, and trust in God, who had preserved her so long. He as-

assured her, that he had wrote to mitigate the
 pope and cardinals, who, there was room
 enough to think, would resent his being stop-
 ped; which, he had told them, was done on-
 ly to wait till his attainder was taken off; and
 to make a shew of going forward, he had sent
 his household-stuff to Flanders. With regard
 to the acts, he found fault that no mention was
 made in the first of the pope's bulls, by the
 authority of which, only, it could be a lawful
 marriage; and he did not like, that in the
 other act, the worship of God, and the sacra-
 ments, were to be as they were in the end of
 her father's reign, for, then they were in a state
 of schism, that the pope's interdict still lay on
 the nation, and till that were taken off, none
 could, without sin, either administer or receive
 them. He confessed he knew none of either
 house fit to propose the matter of rejecting the
 supremacy, and therefore he thought it best
 for herself to go to the parliament, having be-
 fore-hand acquainted some few, both of the
 spirituality and temporality, with her design,
 and tell the house, she was touched with the
 schism, and desired a legate to come over from
 the apostolic see, to treat about; and should
 thereupon propose the reversion of his attain-
 der. That whereas some might apprehend
 thralldom from the papacy, she might give
 them assurance she would see all things so well
 secured, that there should no danger come to
 the nation from it; and he assured them, that
 he, for his part, would take as much care of
 that,

that, as any of all the temporality could de-
 signe.

But the queen's marriage with Philip, meet-
 ing with great opposition, it was resolved that
 the legate should be kept at a distance. There-
 fore, by way of diversion, another legation
 was contrived for him, to mediate a peace be-
 tween the empire and France. In obedience
 to the pope's appointment he went to Paris on
 this errand, the business was most agreeable to
 his natural disposition, and he laboured it very
 seriously for some time, till finding no prospect
 of success, he returned to his former residence
 in a monastery near Brussels, where he had
 resided before his call to France. The truth
 is, the real design of this second embassy was
 now compleated, in the celebration of queen
 Mary's nuptials with Philip, which was no
 sooner finished, than her majesty sent the
 lords Paget and Hastings to conduct her cou-
 sin into England. Accordingly, he set out
 in September 1554, but being detained by
 contrary winds at Calais till November, he did
 not cross the water till the twenty-first of that
 month; when, arriving at Dover, he went
 thence by land to Gravesend, where, being
 met by the bishop of Ely, and the earl of
 Salisbury, who, presenting him with the re-
 peal of the act of his attainder, that had pas-
 sed the day before, he went on board a yacht,
 which carrying the cross, the ensign of his
 legation, at her head, conveyed him to White-
 hall, where he was received with the utmost

generation by their majesties ; and after all possible honour and respect paid to him there, he was conducted to the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, the destined place of his residence, which had been sumptuously fitted up for a queen for the purpose.

On the twenty-seventh he went to the parliament, and made a long and grave speech, inviting them to a reconciliation with the apostolic see, from whence, he said, he was sent by the common pastor of Christendom to produce them, who had long strayed from the inclosure of the church. On the twenty-ninth, the speaker reported to the commons the substance of this speech ; and a message coming from the lords for a conference, in order to prepare a supplication to be reconciled to the see of Rome, it was consented to, and the petition being agreed on, was reported and approved by both houses ; so that being presented by them on their knees to the king and queen, these made their intercession with the cardinal, who thereupon delivered himself, in a long speech, at the end of which he granted them absolution. This done, all went to the royal chapel, where *Te Deum* was sung on the occasion. Thus the pope's authority being now restored, the cardinal, two days afterwards, made his public entry into London, with all the solemnities of a legate, and presently set about the business of reforming the church, of what they called heresy. How much soever he had formerly been suspected to favour the

the reformation; yet he seemed now to be much altered, knowing the court of Rome kept a jealous eye upon him in this respect. He therefore expressed great detestation of them, nor did he converse much with any that had been of that party. He came over into England, much changed from that freedom of conversation he had formerly practised. He was in reserve to all, spoke little, and put on an Italian temper, as well as behaviour, making Priuli and Ormaneto, two Italians whom he brought with him, his only confidants.

In the mean time, the queen dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to make obedience, in the name of the whole kingdom to the pope; who had already proclaimed a jubilee on that occasion. But these messengers had scarce set foot on Italian ground, when they were informed of the death of Julius, and the election of Marcellus his successor; and this pontiff dying soon after, the queen, upon the first news of it, recommended her kinsman to the popedom, as every way the fittest person for it; and dispatches were accordingly sent to Rome for the purpose, but they came too late; Peter Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV. being elected before their arrival. This pope, who had never liked our cardinal, was better pleased with the bishop of Winchester, whose temper exactly tallied with his own. In this disposition he favoured Gardiner's views upon the see of Canterbury; nor was Pole's nomination

ministration to that dignity, confirmed by his holiness, till after the death of his rival. The queen, however, confiding in Pole for the management and regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, granted him a licence to hold a synod on the second of November 1554. In this convention, the legate proposed the next year a book he had prepared, containing such regulations as he judged might be the best means of extirpating heresy; these were passed in the form of twelve decrees, and they are so many proofs of his good temper, which disposed him not to set the clergy upon prosecuting the heretics, but rather to reform themselves, and seek to reclaim others by a good example.

However, he was prevailed upon to act in many instances afterwards, very unsuitably to the temper of these decrees, as is confessed by Burnet, who moreover plainly suggests his belief of the report, that Cranmer's execution was of Pole's procuring; whom he succeeded in the archbishopric of Canterbury, the very next day after that prelate's death. In November, the same year, 1556, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, and soon after of Cambridge; and in the beginning of the year following, he visited both, by his commissaries, reforming them in the sense of those times, but not without committing some uncommonly inhuman prosecutions.

We have already observed, how unacceptable he was to Paul IV. who now sat in the
papal

papal chair, and the war which England was drawn into with France this year, by King Phillip, furnished the haughty pontiff with a pretence for gratifying his ill-will to the legate. He had passionately espoused the quarrel of the French monarch, and being inflamed to see England siding against his friend, he resolved to revenge it on Pole. In this point, having declared openly, that it might now be seen how little the cardinal regarded the apostolic see, when he suffered the queen to assist their enemies against their friends. The first made a decree in May, for the general revocation of all legates and nuncios in the king of Spain's dominions, cardinal Pole being mentioned among the rest; by the representation of Sir Edward Carne, then the English ambassador at Rome. Yet, upon the fatal blow given to the French at St. Quintin, and the ill success of his own forces in Italy, his wrath burst out with fresh fury, he became utterly implacable, accused Pole as a suspected heretic, summoned him to Rome to answer the charge; and, depriving him of the legatine powers, conferred them on Pcyto, a Franciscan fryar; whom he had sent for to Rome, and made a cardinal for the purpose, designing him also to the see of Salisbury. This appointment was made in September, and the new legate was actually on the road for England, when the bulls came to queen Mary; who, having been informed of their contents by her ambassador, laid them up without opening

peying them, or acquainting her cousin with the matter, in whose behalf she wrote to the pope, and assuming some of her father's spirit, she wrote to Peyto, forbidding him to proceed on his journey, and charging him on his peril not to set foot on English ground.

But notwithstanding all her caution to conceal the matter from the cardinal, it was not possible to keep it long a secret, and he no sooner became acquainted with the holy father's pleasure, than out of that implicit veneration, which he constantly and unalterably preserved for the apostolic see, he voluntarily laid down the ensigns of his legatine power, and forbore the exercise of it; dispatching his trusty minister Ormaneto to Rome, with letters, wherein he cleared himself in the most submissive terms, as it is said even melted and melted the obdurate heart of Paul. The truth is, the pontiff was brought into a better temper by some late events, which turned his regard from the French toward the Spaniard, and the storm against Pole blew over entirely, by a peace that was concluded this year, between his holiness and Philip: in one of the secret articles of which, it was stipulated, that our cardinal should be restored to his legatine powers. But he did not live to enjoy the restoration a full twelvemonth, being seized with a double quartan ague, which carried him off the stage of life, early in the morning of the eighteenth of November 1558.

His.

His death is said to have been hastened by that of his royal mistress and kinswoman, queen Mary; which, as if one star governed both their natiuities, happened about sixteen hours before. His body being put into a leaden coffin, laid forty days in great state, at Lambeth, after which, it was conveyed thence with as great funeral pomp to Canterbury, and interred with solemnity on the north side of Thomas à Becket's chapel, in that cathedral. Over his grave there was erected a tomb, on which were inscribed only these three words as sufficient to his fame, *Depositu Cardinatis Poli.*

As to his character, in his person he was of a middle stature and of a compact, though slender habit; his complexion was fair, agreeably tinged with red, and his beard yellow in his youth. He had a large open countenance, enlivened with a cheerful and pleasant eye, a true index of his temper, which was sweet and placid, of the inhabitant within. Though his constitution was not strong, yet in general, he enjoyed a good state of health; which, however, was sometimes disordered, by a catarrh that fell upon one of his arms, and brought an inflammation into both eyes. He used a spare diet, eating only on plain dishes; though he always kept a table suitable to his station and quality, which even rose to kingly magnificence, when there was occasion. Yet he was a good economist, and his expences were constantly proportioned; in general,

ral, to his revenues. In his dress, he called for little help; and often rose out of bed and dressed himself without any attendants. In regard to the qualities of his mind and manners, he was a learned, eloquent, modest, humble, and good-natured man; of exemplary piety and charity, as well as a generosity becoming his birth. Though, by nature, he was more inclined to study and contemplation than an active life; yet he was prudent and dextrous in business: so that he would have been a finished character, had not his superstitious devotion to the see of Rome carried him, against his nature, to commit several cruelties in prosecuting the Protestants.

During his last illness, he made his will; wherein he appointed his best beloved friend, Aloysi Priuli, his sole executor and testamentary heir. But that Italian was of a more noble temper than to enrich himself by his friend's wealth, whom he survived only twenty months; which time was wholly spent in collecting the cardinal's effects, that lay dispersed in divers countries; and, having discharged all the legacies, he gave away the remainder in such a manner as he knew to be most agreeable to the cardinal's mind; reserving to himself only the Breviary and Diary, particularly endeared to him by his friend's frequent use of them.

Indeed, the cardinal was not a man to raise a fortune; being, by the greatness of his birth,

birth, and his excellent virtues, carried far above such mean designs. So that the archbishopric was little advantaged by him, only in a grant which he obtained from queen Mary, of the patronage of nineteen parsonages for it. All that he did besides, was endowing with some houses, built by himself, and a ground-rent on the east side of Lambeth. However, it is said that he designed, if he had lived, to have built a stately archbishop's palace at Canterbury; to which church he gave two silver candle-sticks gilt very heavy; a silver incense-pot, in the form of a ship, partly gilt; a silver chalice, adorned with jewels; a silver pastoral-staff and cross, partly gilt; two pontifical rings, set with jewels of great value; and a very large silver cistern for the holy-water.



THE LIFE OF
ROBERT DUDLEY.

ROBERT DUDLEY was the fifth son of John duke of Northumberland, by Jane, the daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Guilford. Under king Edward VI. he came to court, and was made one of his majesty's privy-chamber. Upon the king's death, he engaged with his father, in defence of the lady Jane Grey, and attended upon him in his expedition into Norfolk; but upon his arrest at Cambridge fled to the queen's camp, from whence he was brought up prisoner to London, and confined in the Tower, on the twenty-sixth of July 1553, and on the fifteenth of January following, was arraigned of high treason at the Guild-hall of London, confessed the indictment, and was adjudged by the earl of Suffex to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. But the lords interceded for him with the queen, who gave way to their entreaty, restored him and his brethren in blood, except only the lord Guilford; received him into favour, and made him master of the English ordnance at the siege of St. Quintin. As soon as queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, she advanced him to the highest honours:

She



The Earl of Leicester.

She made him master of the horse in the first year of her reign, and chose him, to the admiration of all men, into the order of the garter.

Encouraged by these favours, he gave into the opinion, that, could he get rid of his wife, he need not despair of soon rendering himself agreeable to her majesty. The lady was dispatched into the country, to the house of one of his dependants, where, it is said, he first attempted to have taken her off by poison; but, failing in this design, he caused her to be thrown down from the top of a stair-case, and murdered by the fall. She was at first obscurely buried, but that having given occasion to censure, he ordered her body to be taken up, and she was interred again in the university-church of Oxford, with all imaginable pomp and solemnity.

His lordship, in the mean time, met with a more favourable reception than ever from the queen; the management of all affairs was principally entrusted to him, and though she did not openly countenance his pretensions of marriage, yet she seemed not at all displeased with the overture. But envy and emulation are the sure attendants upon greatness, and Dudley, by being thus distinguished above the rest in her majesty's favour, drew upon himself the disinclination of the courtiers: and, it is possible that about this time, the history of Reynard the Fox, now in the hands of every child as a plaything, was written, as a satire against his lordship.

But

But among all Leicester's enemies, secretary Cecil was become the most dangerous; who, to prevent his growing absolute, suggested to her majesty the propriety of a match between his lordship and the queen of Scots, then about to form a foreign alliance, which might be prejudicial to England. The crown of Scotland in possession, and the right of inheritance to the crown of England, was an alluring bait to Dudley's ambition; and the secretary knew, that should he be over-earnest in the pursuit of the match proposed, he would be infallibly lost in the good graces of the queen; and he was under no apprehension, from the known temper of the queen of Scots, that a person of his lordship's extraction could ever render himself acceptable to her. Elizabeth, whatever was her motive, gave ear to the secretary's proposal, and sent immediate instructions to Randolph, her ambassador in Scotland, to open the matter to Mary; but that queen resolved to reject the offer, though she feared to come to an open rupture with Elizabeth. She dispatched Sir James Melvil to London, with instructions full of friendliness and regard. But when Elizabeth enquired if the queen of Scots had sent any answer to the proposition of marriage she had made her, the ambassador gave an evasive answer. Her majesty then entered upon the commendation of lord Robert Dudley, declared she would marry him herself, if she had not been determined

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determined to end her days in virginity ; that this match would remove all future animosity and dissatisfaction from between the two crowns : and farther, to convince the queen his mistress of the regard she bore him, she purposed to advance him to the highest honours before his departure for Scotland. On the twenty-sixth of September he was accordingly created baron of Denbigh, and the day following earl of Leicester. The creation was performed with great solemnity, the queen herself assisted at the ceremony. And not long after, upon the resignation of Sir J. Mason, he was made chancellor of the university of Oxford.

In the mean time, his lordship seemed rather to decline the match, than desire it; he excused himself to the Scottish ambassador, from having ever entertained so proud a pretence, declared his sense of his own unworthiness, and begged her majesty would not be offended, nor impute a matter to him, which the malice of his enemies had devised for his destruction: within a few days after, Sir James Melvil obtained his dispatch, with a more ample declaration of the queen's mind, upon the subject of his embassy.

- In the mean time, the earl of Leicester wrote letters to the earl of Murray, to excuse him to the queen of Scots. And that he might the more recommend himself to her majesty's favour, he accused Sir Nicholas Bacon to Elizabeth; that he had intermeddled in the
affair

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affair of the succession, and assisted in the publication of a book against the Queen of Scots's title. The Queen was highly offended, the author, Hales, was taken up and imprisoned, and Sir Nicholas Bacon would have infallibly lost his office, if Leicester could have persuaded Sir Anthony Brown to have accepted it.

In November following, the earl of Bedford and Mr. Randolph, the earl of Murray and secretary. Lidington, commissioners on both sides, met near Berwick, to treat of the marriage, but with slenderer offers, and less effectual dealing, than was expected. The earl of Leicester's behaviour, and the prudence, and discretion, which appeared in the letters he had written to the earl of Murray, had made an impression upon the queen of Scots, and she seemed so far to approve of the match, that queen Elizabeth began to be afraid it might take effect. Under these apprehensions, and at the solicitation of secretary Cecil, she gave leave to my lord Darnley to take a journey into Scotland, in hope, that his presence might be more prevalent than Leicester's absence. And the earl of Leicester, perceiving the queen's inclination, wrote private letters to the earl of Bedford, to desist from prosecuting it farther. The queen of Scots was soon after solemnly married to lord Darnley, in the royal chapel of Holyrood-house, and the next day he was publicly proclaimed king, and associated.

associated with her majesty in the government.

- Hereupon application was again made to queen Elizabeth to think seriously of a husband, by this means to weaken the party of the queen of Scots in England, and to strengthen the interest of the protestant religion. The emperor Maximilian proposed his brother, with very honourable conditions. The earl of Suffolk favoured the match; but lord Leicester, presuming upon his power with the queen, took pains to prevent it. This opposition was ill digested by the earl of Suffolk, who was of an high spirit, and nobly descended. The honesty of his nature led him to a professed enmity, which divided the whole court; and whenever the two earls went abroad, they were attended with a retinue of armed followers; insomuch, that the queen was obliged to interpose her authority to make up the breach: but Suffolk continued his aversion till his death; and, in his last sickness, is said to have addressed his friends to this purpose: "I am now passing into another world, and must leave you to your fortunes, and to the queen's grace and goodness; but beware of the gypsie (meaning Leicester) for he will be too hard for you all; you know not the beast so well as I do."
- We have already observed, that the earl of Leicester was made chancellor of the university of Oxford, towards the end of the last year.

year. At his entrance upon this office, he found the university in a most deplorable condition: their discipline had long been neglected, and their learning most miserably impoverished. The whole university could furnish only three preachers; and in the absence of two of them, the audience was frequently put off with very lame performances. To give the reader an instance: The congregation being one Sunday destitute of a preacher, Taverner of Woodeaton, the sheriff of the county, enters St. Mary's, with his sword by his side, and his gold chain about his neck, mounts the pulpit, and harangues the scholars in the following strain: "Arriving at the mother of St. Mary's in the stony stage, where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation." This Taverner, it seems, had been brought up at the cardinal's college, was an inceptor in arts, and in deacon's orders, and a person at that time in esteem for his learning in the university; so that from this specimen it may appear to how low a character their studies were reduced.

The earl of Leicester laboured by all possible means to introduce an improvement in literature, and give a new turn to the face of affairs in the university. By his letters he recommended to them the practice of religion and learning, and pressed them to a more
close

close observance of their duty. This application was not without its effect; provision was immediately made for reforming abuses in graces and dispensations, lectures and public exercises were enforced by statute, and the habits brought under regulation; the earl continuing to patronize and regulate the university upon every occasion.

In the beginning of the year 1566, monsieur Ramboulet was dispatched into England to queen Elizabeth, by Charles IX. king of France, with the order of St. Michael, to be conferred on two English noblemen, as should be most agreeable to her majesty. The queen made choice of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Leicester, the one distinguished by his high birth, and the other by her majesty's favour. And on the twenty-fourth of January they were invested in the royal chapel at Whitehall, with very great solemnity; no Englishman having ever been admitted before into this order, except king Henry VIII. king Edward VI. and Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk.

This summer the queen took a progress into the country, and upon her return made a visit to Oxford. She was attended by the earl of Leicester, who informed the university of her design, desired they would consult their own credit upon this occasion, and make an honourable provision for her majesty's reception. On the twenty-ninth of August his lordship, with some others of the nobility, were

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were dispatched before by her majesty, to give notice, that she would be there within two days. The vice-chancellor and the heads of houses came out to meet them on horseback, and entertained them with Latin orations addressed to their chancellor and secretary Cecil. And in the afternoon the lords returned to Woodstock, where the court lay, and expressed their satisfaction in the entertainment.

On the thirty-first of August in the forenoon, the earls of Leicester and Huntingdon were present at Dr. Humphrey's lectures in the schools, who read as queen's professor in divinity, and then they attended at the public disputations. Towards evening, as her majesty approached, she was met at Wolvercote, where the jurisdiction of the university ends, by the chancellor the earl of Leicester, by four doctors, and the vice-chancellor, in their scarlet robes and hoods; and by eight masters of arts, who were heads of colleges or halls. The chancellor then delivered the staves of the three superior beadles into her majesty's hands, and having received them again from her, and likewise restored them to their respective officers, the canon of Christ-church made an elegant speech to her majesty upon the occasion. She then held out her hand to the orator and the doctors, and as Dr. Humphreys drew near to kiss it, "Mr. doctor," says the queen, smiling, "that loose gown becomes you mighty well, I wonder your notions should

should be so narrow." This Humphreys, it seems, was at the head of the puritan party, and had opposed the ecclesiastical habits with great warmth of zeal.

As she entered the town, the streets were lined with scholars from Bocardo to Quater-vois, who, as her majesty passed along, fell down upon their knees, and with one voice cried out, "Long live the queen!" At Quater-vois the Greek professor addressed her majesty in a Greek oration, and the queen answered him in the same language, and commended his performance. From hence she was conveyed with the like pomp to Christ-church, where she was received by the public orator; who, in the name of the university, congratulated her majesty's arrival among them.

For seven days together the queen was magnificently entertained by the university, and expressed an extreme delight in the lectures, disputations, public exercises, and shews; which she constantly heard and saw. On the sixth day she declared her satisfaction in a Latin speech, and assured them of her favour and protection. The day after she took her leave, and was conducted by the heads as far as Shotiver-hill, when the earl of Leicester gave her notice, that they had accompanied her to the limits of their jurisdiction. Mr. Roger Marbeck then made an oration to her majesty, and having laid open the difficulties under which learning had formerly laboured, he applied himself to the encouragements it had lately

lately received, and the prospect of its arising to the height of splendor under her majesty's most gracious administration. The queen heard him with pleasure, returned a very favourable answer; and casting her eyes back upon Oxford, with all possible marks of tenderness and affection, she bade him farewell. Here it may not be amiss to observe, that the queen's countenance, and the earl of Leicester's care, had such an effect upon the diligence of this learned body, that, within a few years after, it produced more shining instances of real worth, than had ever before been sent abroad, at the same time, in any age whatsoever.

Upon the queen's return to London, the parliament met on the first of November, fell into warm debates, and seemed resolved to insist upon her majesty's immediate marriage, or the declaration of a successor. The earl of Leicester had earnestly solicited in behalf of the queen of Scots; but, not meeting with the success he desired, he said that an husband ought to be imposed on the queen, or a successor appointed by parliament against her inclination. Wherein he was openly joined by the earl of Pembroke, and more privately by the duke of Norfolk. But the queen was highly incensed at this behaviour, and for some time, they were all excluded the presence-chamber, and prohibited access to her person: however it was not long before they submitted, and obtained her majesty's pardon.

During

During this disgrace, lord Leicester is charged with having entered into a traiterous correspondence with the Irish, who had just before broken out into an open rebellion. His letters are said to have been found upon a person of distinction, who was killed in battle; but, before the discovery could be made, he was reconciled to the queen, and placed above the reach of any private accusation.

The next year, count Stolberg was dispatched into England, by the emperor, to treat again of a marriage with the archduke Charles. The earl of Suffex had not long before been sent to his imperial majesty upon this subject, and used his utmost efforts that her majesty might be married to a foreign prince: but Leicester took care to supplant him in his designs, and privately engaged the lord North, who attended him in his journey, to be a spy upon his actions, and to break the measures he should enter into, by contrary insinuations. In the mean time, he discouraged her majesty from the attempt, by laying before her the inconveniences that would necessarily arise from a foreign match: and the archduke not long after married the daughter of the duke of Bavaria.

About this time, the queen of Scots came into England; and Leicester appears to have been well-affected to her interest. He stands charged with having entered into a conspiracy against secretary Cecil, because he suspected him to favour the succession of the house of Suffolk,

Suffolk, to Mary's disadvantage: and, when the earl of Murray suggested the marriage with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Leicester embraced the proposal with eagerness. He took upon him to propound the matter to the duke; extenuated the crimes she was accused of; and wrote letters to Mary in commendation of Norfolk; in which he earnestly persuaded her to approve of the marriage: and, farther, he drew up certain articles, which he sent to her by the bishop of Ross, promising, upon her acceptance of the proposed conditions, to procure for her the crown of Scotland in present possession, and the crown of England in reversion.

Whilst affairs were in this situation, and the earl of Leicester was waiting for a convenient opportunity of opening the design to his mistress, the earl of Murray sent secret advice to her majesty of the whole transaction, and charged the duke of Norfolk with having engaged in private practices to get the present possession of the two crowns by means of this marriage. This report, though very foreign to the duke's inclinations, was supported by circumstantial evidence, and raised the queen's jealousy, to a high degree, against the duke and the lords that were concerned with him: which, when Norfolk understood, he would have persuaded the earl to impart the scheme to her majesty without delay; but his lordship put it off from time to time, till,

at length falling sick at Titchfield, or, at least, pretending sickness; being there visited by the queen, he declared the whole matter to her, begging forgiveness with sighs and tears: and, not long after, the duke and the lords being taken into custody, the earl of Leicester was examined before the queen and council; where he gave such an account of his proceedings, and behaved in such a manner, that he easily obtained her majesty's pardon.

The year after this there broke out an open quarrel between the earl of Leicester and the archbishop of Canterbury. A prebendary of value in the church of York was lately fallen void, and the advowson of it had been procured by one Mr. Hammond, a gentleman of a considerable estate in the county, for his son, who was yet a child. This coming to the ears of the bishop of London, who was now elect of York, he gave notice of it to the archbishop, and pressed him not to grant his dispensation to any boy whatsoever. In the mean time, the earl of Leicester had made application to his grace to bestow this prebendary upon one Brookes, a creature of his own. The archbishop shewed some unwillingness to yield, without the consent of the bishop of London. But Brookes answered, that the earl of Leicester desired only his grace's countenance and recommendation to the queen, and that he was already favoured by the bishop of London. Upon which the archbishop signed his hand. But now, when it was expected

that Leicester should have performed his promise, and dispatched this business with the queen, his mind was changed; and Mr. Hammond had found means, as it is supposed, by a present, to gain him over. He wrote letters to the archbishop, earnestly entreating him to grant a dispensation to Mr. Hammond's boy, if he should think it meet: but the archbishop refused to comply. Leicester was provoked at the refusal, and gave his grace a deal of trouble. He procured an order of council, to enquire, whether he had never granted dispensations to children before: but the archbishop wrote letters to the secretary in his own vindication; complained of the unreasonable demands of certain noblemen; and pointed at the earl of Leicester, whom he wished to have God always before his eyes. "However," says he, "some noblemen will be men."

The earl of Leicester indeed stands charged with having had a gainful share in the disposal of all offices of profit. Of his rewards for promoting to bishoprics, take the following story from Sir John Harington. "Of the bishops," says he, "that lived in the first twenty years of the queen's reign, when I was at school, or at the university, I could hear little; yet, at my first coming to the court, I heard this pretty tale; That a bishop of Winchester one day, in pleasant talk, comparing his revenue with the archbishop's of Canterbury, should say, 'Your grace's will
shew

shew better in the rack, but mine will be found more in the manger.' Upon which, a courtier of good place said, 'It might be so in diebus illis; but,' saith he, 'the rack stands so high in sight, that it is fit to keep it full; but that may be, since that time, some have, with a provideatur, swept some provender out of the manger.' And, because this metaphor comes from the stable, I suspect it was meant by the master of the horse."

The next year, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a zealous antagonist to secretary Cecil, in favour of our earl, departed this life. Being at Leicester's house, as he was at supper, he was seized, in a most violent manner, by an imposthumption in his lungs, and died in a few days, but not without suspicion of poison. It is said, that, being lately reconciled to the secretary, the earl was apprehensive he might make a discovery of his secret practices, and for this reason took care to dispatch him. And, farther, he bore him a secret grudge for a former message sent over to queen Elizabeth, whilst her ambassador in France, that he had heard it reported at the duke of Montmorency's table, that her majesty was about to marry her horsekeeper.

- The day before his death, he is said to have declared the cause of his distemper to be a poisoned sallad; and to have broke out into bitter invectives against the earl of Leicester's cruelty. The earl, however, made a mighty shew of lamentation over him; and, in a let-

ter to Sir Francis Walsingham, then ambassador in France, he thus expresses himself upon the occasion, "We have lost, on Monday, our good friend Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who died in my house, being there taken suddenly in great extremity on Tuesday before. His lungs were perished, but a sudden cold he had taken was the cause of his speedy death. God hath his soul, and we, his friends, great loss of his body."

About this time, a match was proposed between queen Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou; and the earl of Leicester appears to have laid aside his pretensions to the queen upon this occasion, and to have solicited the marriage with zeal. But the duke insisting upon a toleration in the exercise of his own religion, the queen absolutely refused to comply.

The designs of Ridolpho, the Italian merchant, and the conspiracy of the duke of Norfolk, being now discovered, to prevent any farther attempt in favour of the queen of Scots, a law was made, prohibiting, under a severe penalty, the declaring any person whatsoever to be heir or successor of the queen, except it were the natural issue of her body. This expression, as it was unaccustomed in statutes of this nature, and the term Natural was usually applied by the lawyers to such children as were born out of wedlock, gave great occasion to censure; and loud clamours were raised against Leicester, as though, by inserting this clause in the statute, he had designed to involve the realm

realm in new disputes about the succession : for it was urged, that no possible reason could be imagined, why the usual form of Lawful Issue should be changed into Natural Issue, unless with a view to reflect upon the honour of her majesty, and to obtrude hereafter upon the English some bastard son of his own as the Natural Issue of the queen.

This year, at the solemnization of the marriage between Henry, king of Navarre, and the lady Margaret, the French king's sister, the bloody massacre of the Protestants was wrought at Paris on the eve of St. Bartholomew. If Mr. Camden is not mistaken, the earl of Leicester and the lord Burleigh were invited to the nuptials under a pretext of honour, but were designed to have been cut off in case they had accepted of the invitation. This tragedy was lamented by my lord of Leicester, in another letter he wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham, with an uncommon strain of piety and concern.

In July, 1575, the queen made the earl of Leicester a visit at his castle of Kenilworth, which had been granted to his lordship and his heirs, by the queen's letters patents, ever since the fifth year of her reign ; and his expence in enlarging and adorning it amounted to no less than sixty thousand pounds. He entertained the queen and her court with all imaginable magnificence.

At her first entrance, a floating island was discerned upon the pool, glittering with
G 3 torches ;

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torches; on which sat the lady of the lake, attended by two nymphs, who addressed her majesty in verse with an historical account of the antiquity and owners of the castle; and the speech was closed with the sound of cornets, and other instruments of loud music. Within the base-court was erected a stately bridge, twenty foot wide, and seventy foot long, over which the queen was to pass; and on each side stood columns, with presents upon them to her majesty from the gods. Silvanus offered a cage of wild-fowl, and Pomona divers sorts of fruits; Ceres gave corn, and Bacchus wine; Neptune presented sea-fish, Mars the habiliments of war, and Phœbus all kinds of musical instruments.

During her stay, variety of sports and shows were daily exhibited. In the chase was a savage man with satires; there were bear-baitings, fire-works, Italian tumblers, and a country brideale, running at the qui tin, and morrice-dancing. And, that no sort of diversion might be omitted, the Coventry men came, and acted the ancient play, so long since used in their city, called *Hucks Tuesday*, representing the destruction of the Danes in the reign of king Ethelred; which proved so agreeable to her majesty, that she ordered them a brace of bucks and five marks in money, to defray the charges of the feast. There were, besides, on the pool, a triton riding on a mermaid eighteen foot long, and Arion upon a dolphin.

An

An estimate may be formed of the expence from the quantity of ordinary beer that was drunk upon this occasion, which amounted to three hundred and twenty hogheads.

Towards the close of this year, Walter D'Everaux, earl of Essex, was, by lord Leicester's management, commanded to resign his authority in Ireland; and returned into England, after having sustained a considerable loss in his private fortunes. But expressing his resentment with too much eagerness against Leicester, to whose under-hand dealings he imputed the whole cause of his misfortunes, he was again sent back into Ireland by his procurement, with the unprofitable title of earl-marshal of the country. And here he continued not long before he died of a bloody-flux in the midst of incredible torments.

The death of this nobleman carried with it a suspicion of poison, and was charged upon the earl of Leicester. Two of his own servants, are reported to have been confederates in the murder: and it is said, that a pious lady, whom the earl much valued, was accidentally poisoned at the same time. It is farther alleged, that his lordship's page, who was accustomed to taste of his drink before he gave it him, very hardly escaped with life, and not without the loss of his hair, though he drank but a small quantity; and that the earl, in compassion to the boy, called for a cup of drink a little before his death, and drank to

him in a friendly manner, saying, "I drink to thee, my Robin; but be'n't afraid, 'tis a better cup of drink than that thou tookest to taste when we both were poisoned."

This report was, however, contradicted by Sir Henry Sidney, the lord-deputy of Ireland; yet the suspicion was increased by lord Leicester's soon after marrying the widow to the earl of Essex, and putting away his former wife, widow to the lord Sheffield, and daughter to William lord Howard of Effingham: for that she was his wife, seems evident from the depositions made in the Star-chamber in the beginning of king James's reign, in favour of the legitimacy of Sir Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester's son by the said lady.

But all engagements gave way to his passion for lady Essex; of whom he became so enamoured, that he offered his countess no less than seven hundred pounds a year in the queen's garden at Greenwich to disown her marriage: and there is cause to believe, that, finding her obstinately resolved not to comply with his demand, he attempted to take her off by poison. "For 'tis certain," says Sir William Dugdale, "that she had some ill poisons given her; so that, with the loss of her hair and nails, she had hardly escaped death." After which, to secure her life from any future practices, she contracted marriage with Sir Edward Stafford, a person of character and reputation, and her majesty's ambassador into France.

The

The duke of Anjou was now eagerly pressing for the match which had been proposed between him and queen Elizabeth ever since he was duke of Alençon: and, at length, came over Monsieur Simier, attended by a large train of French nobility. He waited upon the queen at Richmond, and was entertained by her majesty with such marks of regard, that the earl of Leicester began to be afraid the marriage might take effect. He had some time before engaged Astley, one of the queen's bed-chamber, to search out her disposition towards him, and had met with an unfavourable answer. For, when he was covertly recommended to her majesty for an husband, she reply'd in a passion, "Do you think that, in chusing a husband, I should be so regardless of my character, or unmindful of my royal dignity, as to prefer my servant, whom myself have raised, to the greatest princes of Christendom?" Perchance he perceived, that, should he interpose in the affair of the French match, his opposition would be construed to proceed from interested motives, and might be a means to promote, rather than prevent it. He therefore chose to counterfeit sickness, and, under pretence of taking physick, he for some time became a voluntary prisoner.

But, as he was nearly concerned to break off this alliance, he was all the while very busy during his retirement, in contriving some effectual means to put a stop to it. He cast his

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eyes upon his nephew Sir Philip Sidney, the most accomplished young gentleman that England ever bred, and engaged him to draw up an address to her majesty, wherein he laid before her a just representation of the ill consequences attending on the marriage; and pressed her to decline it; and the queen was pleased with his remonstrance.

But Mr. Camden gives a different account of lord Leicester's confinement. He says, that Simier, apprehending the queen's affection for his lordship to be the greatest bar to his master's pretensions, endeavoured to throw him out of favour, by revealing to her majesty his marriage with lady Essex. The queen broke out into intemperate language, and in a passion commanded him not to stir from the castle of Greenwich, designing to have committed him to the Tower of London, if the earl of Essex had not dissuaded her from it. It is said, the earl of Leicester resented this usage, and, in return, suborned a ruffian to cut off Simier: and it is certain, that, about this time, the queen ordered, by a public proclamation, that no affront should be offered to that ambassador, or any of his attendants, under a severe penalty. However, as he was one day waiting upon her majesty in her barge, a gun was discharged from a neighbouring boat, and one of the queen's barge-men wounded through both his arms. It was first suggested, this was some plot to dispatch Simier:

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Simier: but the matter proving wholly accidental, the man, who had immediately been apprehended, was set at liberty.

Some time after, the duke of Anjou came over in person into England. As he was one day entertaining her majesty with amorous discourse, she drew a ring from off her finger, and placed it upon his, on certain private conditions, which had been agreed between them. The company present mistook it for a contract of marriage; and the earl of Leicester, and the rest of his faction, who had spared no pains to render the design abortive, cried, The queen, the realm, and religion, were undone, The ladies of honour, who were all in his interest, broke out into bitter lamentations, and so terrified the queen, that, early the next morning, she sent for the duke of Anjou, and, after some private conversation with him, dismissed him her court, after having stayed in England three months. To do him honour, the queen attended him as far as Canterbury, and ordered the earl of Leicester, and some others of her nobility to wait upon him to Antwerp.

It was this year that the estates in the Netherlands, being greatly distressed, made application to queen Elizabeth, and desired her majesty to accept of the government of the United provinces, and take them into her protection. The queen heard their deputies with favour; however, she refused the sovereignty, and only entered into a treaty, by

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which she obliged herself to furnish them with a large supply of men and money, which now she sent to them under the conduct of her general the earl of Leicester.

On the eighth of December he went on board, attended by several persons of distinction. His fleet consisted of fifty sail of ships and transports; and, on the tenth, he arrived at Flushing, where, with his whole train, he was magnificently entertained by Sir Philip Sidney, governor of the town for her majesty, and other noblemen: and, in his progress from thence to Delph, his lordship was treated with such magnificence as is scarce to be paralled: particularly, on the twenty-third of December; his lordship taking boat from Dort to Rotterdam, was drawn along a narrow and pleasant river, by men or horses, in a very swift and easy manner. Towards night he drew near the town, and was met upon the water by three pleasure-boats, with twelve sailors in each of them richly dressed, and great store of rockets and fireworks. They had all of them cressets at the stern, which were heightened as the night came on, and, by the reflection of the water, made a delightful shew. On the banks stood ranks of soldiers, with a torch or cresset placed between every four of them. And thus he was brought by water to his lodging, the drums and trumpets playing, and the soldiers discharging large volleys of musket-shot as he passed by. The states attended upon him at supper,

supper. And here the inhabitants were overjoyed at the arrival of the English succours, that they entertained the whole army at their own private expence; whilst every citizen strove to go beyond his neighbour in all the offices of friendliness and civility which could be shewed to his welcome guest. It is said that the famed statue of Erasmus was erected in the market-place upon this occasion, where he is represented standing in a pulpit, as though he were preaching, and holding his Paraphrase upon the Four Gospels in his hand, with this inscription underneath, ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS.

From hence the earl of Leicester made haste towards Delph, attended by the states and a magnificent train. He entered the town late, but was lighted along the river by cressets and fireworks. He was received at the port by a file of musketeers, who waited upon him to his lodging, which was the house where the prince of Orange was slain, and congratulated his arrival by the customary discharge of their several pieces. Over the gate were written, in Latin, verses much to the honour of his lordship and the English nation.

On the twenty-fifth of December, his lordship was nobly feasted by the states; and the next day he returned the compliment. Besides the states and count Maurice, the princess of Des, with several ladies and gentlewomen, graced the entertainment. Whilst they were at table, they were diverted with a consort of Dutch

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Dutch music, orations in Dutch and Latin, and all possible expressions of benevolence and regard. On the twenty seventh, his lordship removed from thence to Donhage, and there he determined to keep his court.

He made his entry in the evening by the light of torches and fireworks, accompanied by a noble train of Englishmen, with an hundred and fifty of his guard, the states of Rotterdam and Delph, and was met upon the water by the states of Donhage, and received in triumph. Several magnificent shews were exhibited, as he entered, and addressees paid to him. Fishermen were first placed in the harbour, representing Peter, James, and John, and our Saviour walking by them on the water, and commanding them to cast in their nets a second time, according to the Gospel of St. Matthew ; and, as they drew them out laden with fishes, they made a shew of presentment to the earl of Leicester, who returned his thanks as he passed by. The next representation was of the poetical gods. Mars and Bellona sat upon the river, and made a congratulatory speech to his lordship upon his arrival.

At his landing he was met by a troop of horse, dressed in fantastic habits, who ran many courses before him, and, as the streets grew narrow, marched off. As he entered the principal street of the town, there were two galleries hung with black bays erected on each side; on which stood fifteen virgins, cloathed

cloathed in white with palm-branches, and lighted tapers in their hands, and paid their respects to him as he went along. They stood about a spear's length from each other, and between every one of them was hung up a glass sounce with a lighted taper; and at the ends of each gallery were placed a champion and a Moor; the one supporting the arms of England, and the other the arms of Holland. Frequent gates were raised of rugged stones, adorned with tapers, and the arms of the principal artificers of the town. The streets were hung with broad cloths, on which abundance of red crosses were fastened, drawn on paper. As the way turned, upon an high scaffold raised over an arch, an imaginary battle was fought between the English and the Spaniards, and the English prevailing, an inscription was written underneath to this effect, "Now, our fortune be, as 'tis here represented, and bring freedom to ourselves and fame to England." And other lines in Latin, alluding to Britain, were exposed to public view.

As he moved forward, a lofty scaffold was erected, on which her majesty's arms were placed at large: upon it stood seven virgins, representing the seven provinces, each holding a spear, and supporting the arms of the province she was to denote; and in the midst was an armed Minerva, encompassed with the arms of England, on which the rest seemed to rely: and these were all presented to her majesty

jesty by an old champion named Necessity. At some distance, on a like scaffold, seven persons, expressing the seven liberal sciences, were presented to the earl, as due to him by merit. The streets were all illuminated as he passed along, and many agreeable inventions devised upon the occasion. Among the rest, over against his lordship's gate, a barber had so disposed above threescore basons of bright copper, with a wax candle in every one of them, as to make a most glorious shew; and in the midst was placed the rose and crown, with a suitable motto.

Upon his entrance into the court-gate, Arthur of Britain, involved in a cloud, whom they compared to the earl, was discerned upon a scaffold; and within were entertainments of all kinds of musical instruments.

Thus was he led in triumph through the city; and, as he entered the great hall, he was welcomed to his lodging with the discharge of large volleys of shot. Great rejoicings were made in the town all the night long, with variety of fireworks, as rockets, squibs, wheels, and balls of fire, and an artificial dragon, which cast out flames for near an hour together.

The next day, on the river adjoining to his lordship's lodging, a kind of tilting was performed upon the water in the following manner. From each end of the river came a boat running with six oars, and an armed man standing

standing in the stern, with a staff in his rest, having a but-end of cork: as they met they encountered, and both fell into the water, where other boats stood ready to assist them. This diversion was continued till my lord of Leicester grew weary of it, in compassionating the pain of the poor men that were thrown into the river.

On the third of January, his lordship entered Leyden with a large retinue of three hundred horse, very richly furnished. He was met upon the way by the chief townsmen, who congratulated his arrival among them. The first that addressed him were twelve burgo-masters in long black gowns, with the name of LEYDEN, in large letters of silver, upon their shoulders. These were followed by twelve of the principal burgesses, and a large strain on horseback, dressed all in black velvet. From his entrance into the town, he was led to his seat through a covered street of different coloured saie, with a canopy borne over him; and, as soon as he was seated, two men, like poets, on a stage over against him, presented him with the following spectacle, representing the miseries they had endured, whilst besieged by the Spaniards about eight years before.

The first personage that appeared, was a fine woman richly dressed, denoting the town: she was long assaulted by Spaniards with false fires of shot, in order of battle; but not prevailing, they retired, and continued the siege till

till such time as provision grew scarce ; and then entered Famine, in a proper attire expressive of want ; who was followed by men rending asunder live cats and dogs, and feeding upon them ; and soldiers bereaving the women of their children and devouring them, She was now attacked by Pestilence, which was attended with heaps of carcases, buried in a disorderly manner ; and at length with the funeral of an officer, who had distinguished himself in the service, and was carried over the stage with dead marches, howling trumpets, colours wrapt up, trailed pikes, and drawn pieces ; and, as he was laid in the ground, was bid farewell with a volley of shot. The Spaniards were next represented as compassionating her miseries, and sending frequent messages to exhort her to yield ; to which she returned no answer, but, big with the hopes of assistance, ordered a light to be fixed on the pinnacle of the highest steeple in the town to give notice to the prince of Orange, who lay at Delph, that she expected succour ; and he again, by the device of a dove, sent back a promised aid ; which was returned with repeated assurances that she would still hold out till it should please Providence to favour her. Providence then entered the stage, upon whom she leaned, and seemed to repose her utmost confidence. By the help of Providence, a part of the wall was thrown down in the night with a vawmure of six and twenty poles. Upon this, the enemy,

my, apprehending the prince of Orange was entered with his force, have recourse to flight, are pursued by the town, and as many as were overtaken are put to the sword, whilst the lady and her attendants march off in triumph.* Another woman was then introduced, armed like the former, and besieged by a Spaniard, courted by a Frenchman, and flattered twice by an Italian; but rejecting the Spaniard, she hastily leaped off the stage and hid herself under the earl of Leicester's cloak, and his lordship receiving her into his protection, the Spaniard put on an air of threatening and walked off. The earl led her home to his lodging, and put an end to the shew.

The next day he was publickly entertained by the town, and on the fifth of January went back to Donhage. Five days after, he made a muster of part of his horsemen, to the number of five hundred and more, and distributed them into several garrisons, under several governors, and nominated the earl of Essex to be general of the horse. He then returned to Leyden, and caused a general fast to be proclaimed throughout Holland, Gelderland and Friseland, on the twelfth, which was observed with great solemnity and devotion. The lord lieutenant spent the day in hearing of sermons, and in prayer, in reading and singing of psalms, and neither eat himself, nor suffered any belonging to him to taste of meat till the evening. On the twenty-fourth of January he was visited at Donhage by the prince of Portugal, and

and on the twenty-fifth his lordship was installed and sworn, and the states took an oath to the queen.° The manner of the instalment was as follows: at the upper end of the great hall the lord lieutenant was seated under the arms of England, and on each side of him, in a deice of two steps, sat twelve of the principal states, and the rest to the number of twenty were placed directly before him, but four or five steps lower. On his lordship's right hand stood the prince of Portugal, the lord Morley, Mr. Norris governor of Munster, Sir William Russel, Sir Robert Germain, and other persons of distinction: on his left were Grave Maurice, the earl of Essex, Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Parrat, and several others of rank and quality. A large oration was then made in Dutch, declaring the cause of the assembly, and concluding with acknowledgments to the queen and the lord lieutenant. After this the agreement between the states, the queen, and his lordship was read in Latin, and being interchangeably delivered by my lord to the states, and by the states to his lordship, he was desired to swear to the observance of the articles contained in it, which, holding up his hand to heaven, he did; and the states in like manner holding up their hands, did the same. And then again the states took an oath to the queen and her lord lieutenant, and retiring to his palace, were nobly entertained by his lordship. In the beginning of February he went to the Hague, where

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where the states general were assembled, and on the sixth day of the month, a grant was given him in writing of the chief government and absolute authority over the united provinces. After which the lord lieutenant applied himself to the business of his charge, and nominated certain superintendants to act under him in the several provinces; all of them natives of the country, and members of the great council. But when news was brought to queen Elizabeth, how large an honour and authority the states had conferred on his lordship, and that he had accepted it, she very highly resented his proceedings, and immediately dispatched her vice chamberlain to him with an expostulating letter; at the same time writing to the states general to turn Leicester out of that absolute authority, whose commission she had limited; not that she thought their cause unworthy to be favoured and assisted, but to provide for and secure her own honour, which she esteemed more dear to her than life itself.

The states returned a submissive answer, excused what they had done by the necessity they lay under, gave a softer sense to the word absolute than was generally meant by it, and laid before her the inconvenience of recalling a power they had already given. The earl of Leicester, too, lamenting his hard fate in having disoblged her, so wrought upon her easy disposition by his feigned sorrow, that she over-

looked

looked the offence, and acquiesced in the declaration of the states.

Upon the arrival of the English succours, the Dutch were inspired with new hopes; and the prince of Parma, the Spanish general, who had been raised to an expectation of soon reducing the Netherlands to the obedience of the catholic king, found he had a more powerful enemy to cope with than he had yet encountered: in their first attacks the English carried every thing before them; and the earl of Leicester being then at Utrecht, in his progress through the Provinces, he received an account of his success against the enemy, from his lieutenant general Norris; in consequence of which good news, he kept the feast of St. George, then nigh approaching, with a pomp and solemnity worthy of himself and his country.

On the twenty-third of April, being St. George's day, the streets of Utrecht were ranked with eight ensigns of burghers richly appointed, and wearing scarfs upon their arms knit like roses red and white, in the midst of whom the procession marched on horseback from the lord lieutenant's palace to the cathedral church. First rode the trumpeters, cloathed in scarlet laced with silver, sounding their instruments, their bannerols being displayed and richly limned with his lordship's arms. Next came the gentlemen, captains, colonels, and her majesty's sworn men, to the number of
forty

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forty horse, in gold and silver huffs, and various-coloured silks. These were followed by six knights, four barons, the council of the estates, the earl of Essex and the electoral bishop of Cologne, and the prince of Portugal by himself. After whom marched the captain of the Guard, the treasurer and comptroller of the household, bearing white slaves, two gentlemen ushers, and Portcullis herald in a rich coat of arms of England. And last of all came the lord lieutenant invested in the robes of the order, and guarded by the principal burghers of the town, who offered themselves to this service, besides his own guard, which consisted of fifty halberds in scarlet cloaks, edged with purple and white velvet. In this state he was conducted to the church, and paying his reverence to her majesty's seat, which was situate some degrees lower. After prayers and the sermon were ended, he proceeded to the offering, first for her majesty and then for himself, which part of the service he performed with such a grace and majestic deportment, as procured him the applause of the whole assembly.

From hence they returned to dinner, and were very honourably entertained at his lordship's palace. At the upper end of the hall was a sumptuous cloth and chair of state, designed for queen Elizabeth, with her majesty's arms and stile upon it, and before it a table covered in the same manner, as if her highness had been present; and at the lower end of it on the

the left hand, were placed the stool and plate of the lord lieutenant, for he would have no chair. The company being assembled, his lordship knighted Sir Martin Skencke before the chair of state for the many services he had done to his country, and then the ushers marshalled the feast. The dishes were brought up into the hall with the sound of trumpets, were served on the knee, and carved and tasted to her majesty's trencher.

The side-tables were all furnished in silver plate, and waited on by gentlemen, and upon the removal of the first course, and placing the second upon the queen's board, the ushers cried, "A hall." which being made with some difficulty, by reason of the crowd, they brought up between them Portcullis herald, invested with the arms of England, who after he had thrice paid his reverence to the chair of state, pronounced in Latin, French, and English, the queen's usual stile, of England, France and Ireland, defendress of the faith, &c. and then cried aloud thrice, "Largesse."

When dinner was over, there passed several entertainments of dancing, vaulting, and tumbling; and after supper several acts of chivalry were performed, wherein the earl of Essex distinguished himself above the rest.

From Utrecht his excellency passed to Arnheim with a considerable force, designing to relieve Grave, then besieged. But before his lordship could bring up his succours, Van Hemart, the governor, surrendered, and delivered

livered the town up to the duke of Parma, to which capitulation they say he was induced by the persuasions of a kept mistress; however, his cowardice cost him his life. The earl of Leicester presently ordered him to be apprehended, and for an example of terror caused him and two other officers concerned with him, to be put to an ignominious death. There were found in the town, as Strada reports, twenty-seven pieces of cannon, an hundred and eight barrels of gunpowder, and a sufficient quantity of provision to support six thousand men for a whole year. And, in the mean time, the earl of Leicester drew the Spaniards from their strong holds in other places.

It is not our purpose, however, to give a distinct recital of the several battles, sieges, and skirmishes, which happened between the Spanish forces and those of the confederates. The earl of Leicester certainly, in many instances, shewed himself a brave man, if not a great general; and the English and Dutch, for the most part, had the better of their enemies. Yet, when the lord lieutenant came to the Hague after his second campaign, where the states of the country were then assembled, they received him with coldness, and soon broke out in expostulation and complaint; in a moderate way desiring a redress. But he in return entered upon a justification of his proceedings, strove to remove their supposed misconstructions and mistakes, and at last endeavoured to dissolve the assembly; but not be-

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ing able to bring about his purpose, he declared his resolution of returning to England, and left the council in an angry manner. However, he seems afterwards to have been brought to temper, and to have told the states, that by his journey into England, he should be the more enabled to assist them in their affairs, and provide remedy to all their grievances.

When the day came for his departure, by a public act he gave up the care of the provinces into the hands of the council of state; but privately, the same day, by an act of restriction, he reserved an authority to himself over all governors of provinces, forts and cities; and farther took away from the council and the presidents of provinces their accustomed jurisdiction. And thus he sailed for England.

But whatever might be the pretence for Leicester's leaving the Low Countries at this conjuncture, his presence in England seems not to have been at all unacceptable to queen Elizabeth. The late conspiracies, which had been formed in favour of the queen of Scots, had made a deep impression upon her majesty, and she appears to have been now resolved to dispatch her competitor; but the difficulty lay in what manner it should be done; and she knew she could securely rely upon Leicester's fidelity. When the matter was brought before the council, his lordship is said to have advised to take her off by poison; but this
scheme

scheme being openly opposed by secretary Wallingham, who had refused to give ear to the private insinuations of a court-divine, whom his lordship had sent to draw him into a consent, it was at last determined to proceed against her by a late act in the twenty-seventh year of queen Elizabeth, which had been purposely made upon this occasion. And thus the unfortunate queen was brought to her trial, and lord Leicester continued one of her judges. After sentence of condemnation had been pronounced against her, queen Elizabeth was no less perplexed, in what manner she should proceed to her execution. She was desirous, as much as possible, to remove the blame from herself; and the earl of Leicester observing it to be her majesty's inclination, desired to be permitted to take her secretly away. And the queen desired him to have come into his confinement, and ordered her secretaries Davison and Walsingham to write to Forth-ringers, where the queen was then imprisoned, to be careful to keep her off violence. But the keepers refused to do so, he said, declined the office, and her majesty with- after, fell a public sacrifice by the hands of an executioner.

In the mean time the states of the Low-Countries were in a very prosperous condition. And the governors of the provinces gave in loud complaints against the earl of Leicester's administration. During his stay in England they called together the states general.

ral, and to preserve their country, they agreed to invest prince Maurice with the full power and authority of Stadtholder. And pursuant to this determination, they obliged all the officers to receive a new commission from him, and to take a new oath to the states, and discharged all recusants whatsoever from the service.

Queen Elizabeth was highly displeased with these alterations in the government. She immediately sent over lord Buckhurst to enquire into the matter, to complain of the innovations they had introduced in the earl of Leicester's absence, and to settle all differences between them. The states in return assured her majesty, that their proceedings were but provisional, and enforced through fear of a general revolt in consequence of their losses; and that at his lordship's return they would readily acknowledge both him and his authority; for the states were too well acquainted with the share Leicester bore in her majesty's affection, to attempt any accusation against him. But notwithstanding many outward professions of regard, they inwardly hated him, and privately proceeded in the execution of their projects, to straiten his power.

These proceedings however were by no means agreeable to the majority of the people; and the clergy, who were firm in the interest of the earl of Leicester, threatened to be revenged of the states, if the queen should take any offence at their alterations. The
synod

synod at Sneek, in particular, presented a petition to lord Buckhurst to be transmitted to Elizabeth, in which they invite her to come to the assistance of Christ, who threw himself and his children into her arms, and implored her protection.

And the preachers at Amsterdam had openly inveighed against the magistrates from the pulpit, and the people set up libels against the states. But as these disorders were at the point of being carried to the utmost extremity, lord Buckhurst signified to them from her majesty, that it was her inclination to send back the earl of Leicester into the Low-Countries, which gave a check to their violence, and put a farther stop to the proceedings of the states, who then, both publickly and privately, assured lord Buckhurst of all duty and fidelity to him; But the queen requiring, before she could be prevailed on to give consent to his lordship's return, some promises and provisoes, which the states resolutely refused to comply with; Buckhurst again declared, that he had no commission from her majesty to promise his lordship's return to them.

The demands made by the queen from the Dutch, increased the indignation of the great men of that country against the earl of Leicester. They now saw plainly, he sought not so much their advantage, as the gratification of his own ambition. It was their part therefore to provide for their own security, and guard

against any future encroachments he might hereafter attempt upon their constitution. But while they were employed in this attempt their peeps from the Spaniards encreased so continually upon them, that there seemed no other possible remedy to prevent their entire ruin and subversion, but a present governor, attended with a present supply of men and money. Lord Buckhurst was not wanting to notify their distresses to queen Elizabeth, but Leicester's demands were so great from her majesty, that she continued doubtful for some time, whether she should again employ him in that service. This engaged lord Buckhurst to draw up a new scheme for the government of the united provinces, which offended the earl of Leicester so much, that he never forgave it. Yet Buckhurst still continued to make application to the court of England, laid open the miseries to which the provinces were reduced, and with pressing instances recommended the consideration of their necessity to her majesty. And in the end the queen's treasurer arrived with money, to the great joy of his lordship, and the comfort of the distressed soldiers, who had long been without pay and necessaries.

Nothing now seemed wanting but the earl of Leicester's presence. The queen at last became sensible of the inconveniencies attending upon any farther delay, and after some fruitless endeavours towards a peace, gave consent to
his

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his lordship's return, and ordered him to make ready for his journey. . Before his departure several letters passed between him and the ministers of South Holland, and one of them was written in the manner following.

Gentlemen,

“ That I did not return such an answer to several of your letters as you desired and expected, was not for want of a good-will towards serving the cause of God, and defending the poor people; but it was because I had not yet received her majesty's resolutions about what was farther necessary to be done for the service of your country. But the queen having given me full directions with regard to the forces she will send to your assistance, and having laid her commands upon me to return; I therefore, postponing all private views and considerations, and abandoning all those advantages, which God has bestowed upon me in this kingdom, intend to hasten over, and satisfy the desires of a people, who have so often called for me; to which the zeal and good inclinations of some have more induced me, than the demerits of others, that suffer themselves to be made tools for keeping me back by slanders and detractions; which I shall nevertheless enter into my book of oblivion, that no harm may befall those, who seek to do me such disservices; and I hope I shall

never give the people any cause to diminish their good-will and affection for me. In the mean time, I intreat you to go on in your duty, and to admonish and excite those under your care to peace and unity, to the end that they may more and more deserve all the benefits they receive. For the rest I refer myself to my arrival, and so I recommend you, gentlemen, to the protection of the almighty."

Your good friend,

Given at London,

Jan. 7. O. S.

R. LEICESTER.

But as every thing stood still till his lordship's arrival in Holland, the Spaniards had great advantage of the Dutch, who thought, or rather feared, they could not act properly, though for their own defence, till the earl of Leicester came to head the English forces.

The duke of Parma had besieged Sluys, and the town was reduced to the utmost extremity, when Leicester set sail from England with a considerable supply both of horse and foot. Prince Maurice and the deputies of the states attended upon him at Flushing, to Congratulate his return, and left count Hollack to watch the motions of the enemy. When they had talked upon the subject of raising the siege, it was determined to attempt it by sea. To this end they fitted out as many ships as were thought expedient, and sent on board them about five thousand foot and six hundred horse, with
all

all necessary provision, for the relief of the town. Within a few hours after the fleet appeared in the channel, and the earl of Leicester made signs to the besieged, that he was come to their assistance: but upon stricter enquiry, finding the channel blocked up, and the passage secure, he saw it would be in vain to endeavour to proceed any farther. For three days he continued in suspense what step he should take; and at last weighing anchor, he bent his course towards Ostend, with a resolution to succour the besieged by land. But the duke of Parma apprehending his design, immediately sent a reinforcement of horse and foot to oppose his progress. As soon as the earl of Leicester had landed his men, he prepared to attack a very important fort, and joining the whole garrison of Ostend to his army, marched up directly against it. The duke of Parma, therefore, leaving the siege every where well provided, led the remainder of his army to the defence of the fort against his lordship. The English troops were upon the point to begin their batteries, but upon sight of the enemy's army, they deferred their hostilities, and after some consultation retired to ostend. From hence they returned with the same fleet to the place where they had formerly been at anchor, not far from Sluys; and the duke of Parma, marching suddenly back, again presented himself to their view, and took from them all possible hope of relieving the town. And thus they

found themselves under a necessity to retire again, and never after attempt to be seen there any more.

The loss of Sluys, which soon followed, renewed the misunderstanding between the earl of Leicester and the states, whilst the blame of the action was thrown, by each party, upon the mismanagement of the other. And this dissatisfaction encreasing, they refused to re-establish him in that absolute authority, which had been conferred upon him at his first arrival. The earl of Leicester openly expressed his displeasure against the states, and is charged with having entered into indirect practices. The magistrates of Leyden had private information, that a scheme was formed to surprise the town, and change the governors. And certain companies of English soldiers had marched to Maesland, and Delfshaven, with directions to seize upon the person of Oldenbarnevelt, advocate and counsellor to the states of Holland, whom his lordship had destined to destruction, with thirteen others of the principal asserters of the liberties of their country, by the hands of an executioner. And prince Maurice, upon the discovery, left the Hague the next day, to avoid the ruin which seemed to threaten him. But the common people were so overswayed with the appearances of piety and zeal in the earl of Leicester, as to approve of all he did. Within a few days his Lordship went to Utrecht, where he was very diligent to form an interest among the townsmen

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townsmen in his favour; and from thence he made a progress through the country, conversing chiefly with the ministers and private persons, and sowing the seeds of discord and division wherever he came.

He is said to have engaged in a design against Amsterdam, but the magistrates got notice of his project, and prevented its execution. Upon this disappointment he directed his course towards North-Holland, and cast his eye upon Enkhuysen. And here he thought he was secure of his purpose, by reason the clergy had a great influence over the town. But the minister took part with the magistrates, and recommended the duty of subjection in such pressing terms from the pulpit, that the people were all unanimous in supporting their authority. With this encouragement they sent a letter to his lordship, as he was upon his journey, desiring he would decline to visit them upon this occasion. He answered their letter, and took no notice of his coming, but notwithstanding went on ship-board at Hoorn, and marched directly towards them. Hereupon they assembled all the officers of the militia, and after some consultations about the common safety, agreed to place a guard at their gates; and when his lordship was advanced within a league of the city, they dispatched certain members of their senate to him, to dissuade his proceeding any farther.

The

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The deputies delivered their message with submission and respect ; but his lordship being apprehensive that the gates would be shut upon him, passed the night at Streek, and the next morning turned aside to Medenblike.

About this time, a certain Fleming, who had been placed as a spy upon his lordship, and had frequently disclosed his counsels, and given seasonable notice of his designs, appears to have been discovered, and was never heard of any more.

In the mean time, the ministers were every where very industrious to promote the honour and interests of his lordship. In the beginning of October, certain of them drew up a memorial, in the name of the Dutch and Walloon churches ; which they presented to the states ; who heard them with patience, and civilly told them, They would consider of their memorial. But, within a few days after, as the application of the ministers had been public, the states judged proper to draw up a public answer ; which they caused to be printed and distributed to the magistrates in every town of Holland and West-friesland, with directions to summon the clergy before them, to put a copy of it into their hands, and to bid them exhort their congregations to unity and peace ; to give heed to teaching and preaching ; and to leave matters of government and policy to the states and magistrates. But this reproof seems to have been ill received by

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by the ministers, who declared they had done nothing but their duty, and did not expect so unkind a return.

About this time, Provink, a creature of the earl of Leicester's, attempted to stir up the people of Dort to an insurrection in his lordship's favour. To this end he had drawn up a petition, to have been signed and presented by them to his lordship; in which, after several invectives against the states, they promised to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, and to use their utmost power to the establishing his authority every where. This paper being shewn to the minister, he dissuaded the execution of the enterprize; and so the project was dropped for that time. It afterwards fell into the hands of the magistrates, who, though most of them inclined to favour the English interest, thought proper to lay it before the assembly of the states, then sitting at Harlem.

But the spirit of discord and rebellion was no where more prevalent than it was at Leyden. Many thousands of Flemish and Brabanders, who had taken shelter here during the late persecutions, had contracted an aversion to the states, upon an imagination that the cause of the church and the earl of Leicester were so closely united, that every diminution of his lordship's authority was a disservice to religion.

The earl of Leicester considering this, sent for Cosmo de Pescarengiis, a native of Piedmont, who had been formerly a pawnbroker

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at Leyden, but was now a disbanded colonel, and ready to engage in any desperate undertaking. He laid before him the inclinations of the people of Leyden to reduce the city to his obedience; shewed him how easy it was to accomplish their purpose; that nothing more was wanting than an officer of resolution to head them; and pressed Cosmo to assist in the service. Cosmo, with little persuasion, was induced to comply, but he wanted his lordship to give him instructions in writing. But my lord made answer, He would support his own work, that he would never forsake him, but fly to his assistance in case of difficulty, though at the expence of all his fortune.

When Cosmo was come to Leyden, he made his application to Nicholas de Maulde, a young officer of reputation, who belonged to the garrison, and gained him over to the English interest. The same day the chief of the faction met at Cosmo's lodgings, to debate upon the execution of their project, and what was the most efficacious method of seizing upon the magistrates. And here it was agreed to make use of De Maulde's company, and the soldiers of one Heraugiere, which were to be brought from Delft upon this occasion. Some few days after, Cosmo, upon suspicion of some other crime, was taken up and imprisoned. This accident struck a terror into the rest of the conspirators, who judged they were all discovered: but soon learning their mistake, they sent Volmaer to the earl of Leicester, to consult

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consult with him what was farther to be done. His lordship required them to go on, and expressed his dissatisfaction at their delays.

Upon the return of their messenger, they met once more at Meetkirke's house, and determined to execute their design on the Sunday following. Maulde, by my lord of Leicester's orders, was to ask leave of the magistrates to draw his company out of the town the evening before; and, under this pretext, was, early, the next morning, to march his soldiers along the Broadstreet as far as the stadthouse, where he was to be stopped by fifty or sixty of the armed citizens, who should declare that they had taken up arms for the service of the church and his excellency the earl of Leicester. They were then to seize the stadthouse, and to publish a declaration, That the good Burghers had been obliged to take up arms for the service of the queen of England, for the maintenance of the true religion, and for re-establishing the earl of Leicester," &c. And their watch-word was to have been, "Long live the queen of England, and the earl of Leicester."

However, the day came, and nothing was effected. They were afraid, it seems, lest the citizens, whom they had drawn into the conspiracy, should be backward in the insurrection; and thus the mischief, which they had designed for others should revert on themselves.

In the mean time, one of the conspirators, named Andrew Schott, disclosed the whole affair

fair to the magistrates; whereupon Volmaer was taken up, Cosmo more strictly confined, and captain Maulde apprehended at Woerden, and carried back to Leyden. Volmaer confessed all he was accused of, but threw the blame upon the earl of Leicester. He was desired to produce his commission; but he said he had relied upon his lordship's honour, and acted only by a verbal order. And, when he was told that the earl would deny his word, "Why then," said he, "I am a dead man." Cosmo declared that the earl of Leicester had drawn him into this design by the promise of a reward. And De Moulde confessed, that he was led aside by the insinuations of Cosmo, the name of the earl of Leicester, and the credit of Meeterke. Cosmo only was exposed to torture, and, as he was upon the rack, cried out upon his lordship, "O excellence, a bonny employez vous les gens!" The other two were sentenced to be beheaded.

The earl of Leicester was at Alkmaer when news was brought him of the sad fate of his confederates, and is reported to have said, "'Tis high time to take care of my own head." And, not long after, he left the country, and returned into England, leaving the administration of the provinces to the states themselves.

At his departure, he privately distributed among the members of his faction certain gold medals, stamped with his own effigies on one side,

side, and on the reverse, a dog ready to depart, looking back upon a flock of sheep, from whence some had strayed. Over the dog was this inscription, "Invitus defero;" and near the sheep, "Non gregem, sed ingratos."

Prince Maurice was immediately appointed governor of the United Provinces in his lordship's stead; and the lord Willoughby made general of the English forces in the Low-Countries by her majesty. But, notwithstanding his absence, he is reported to have still fomented divisions in the country. But the queen, considering the dangers which now threatened her from the preparations in Spain, gave orders to my lord Willoughby to check the seditious spirit in the Low-Countries, and reduce the disaffected to a submission to the states; which, by the assistance of prince Maurice, he happily performed.

It is said, that lord Leicester, upon his return, finding an accusation was preparing against him by Buckhurst, and others of his enemies, for his misconduct in the Low-Countries; and that he was summoned to appear and give an account of his behaviour before the council; privately threw himself at her majesty's feet, and implored her protection: and, that the queen was so pacified with his expressions of humility and sorrow, as to pass by the displeasure she had conceived against him, and admit him into her former grace and affection.

THE next day, when it was expected he should have given in his answer, he took his place at the council-table; and, when the secretary had begun to read his accusation, he rose up and interrupted him, complaining of the injuries that had been offered him, and declaring that his public commission was limited by private instructions; and making his appeal to the queen, he evaded the accusation, and came off in triumph. But it fared not so with lord Buckhurst; for Leicester's aversion to him, and power with the queen, so far prevailed, that a censure was passed upon his negotiation, and his lordship was confined to his house for several months.

The preparations in the ports of Spain had already made a great noise, and there was no doubt but their principal views were directed against England. The queen was not negligent in making all preparations requisite for her defence. She fitted out a considerable fleet under the command of the lord Howard of Effingham, and farther lined the southern coasts with twenty thousand men. An army of one thousand horse, and twenty-two thousand foot, was commanded by her general the earl of Leicester, and encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames; and another of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, was under the command of the lord Hunsdon, and kept as a guard upon the queen's person.

Upon.

Upon the encampment at Tilbury, her majesty rode through all the squadrons of her army, attended by the earls of Leicester and Essex, and Norris, lord-marshal, on foot: and, having viewed them all, she expressed her satisfaction of their fidelity, and her sense of my lord of Leicester's merit, in a noble speech.

But, notwithstanding her majesty's commendation, there was no opportunity for his lordship to exert his abilities on this occasion; for the Spanish army never landed on the shore. And this was the last expedition in which his lordship was engaged; for retiring soon after to his castle at Kenilworth, as he was upon his journey, he was taken ill of a fever at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire; of which he died on the fourth of September following.

"He was esteemed," says Mr. Camden, "a most accomplished courtier, free and bountiful to soldiers and students; a cunning time-server, and respecter of his own advantages; of a disposition ready and apt to please; crafty and sible towards his adversaries; much given formerly to women, and in his latter days doating extremely upon marriage. But, whilst he preferred power and greatness, which is subject to be envied, before solid virtue, his detracting emulators found large matter to speak reproachfully of him; and, even when he was in his most flourishing condition, spared not disgracefully to defame him by

by liels, not without a mixture of some untruths."

It is said, that he died in the queen's debt; and, that her majesty caused his goods to be sold at a public sale, that payment might be made; for, however favourable she might have been in all other respects, the queen is observed never to have remitted the debts that were owing to her Treasury. From Cornbury Park his corpse was removed to Warwick, where he was interred in our Lady's chapel, adjoining to the choir of the collegiate-church, and a very noble monument erected to his memory.





S. Francis Drake *J. P. Rogers del.*

THE LIFE of
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

THIS famous voyager was born near South-Tavestock, in Devonshire, his father being a minister, who, for fear of the six articles, in the reign of Henry VIII. was forced to secure himself in the hull of a ship, where he had many of his younger sons, having twelve in all, most of them born on the water.

After the death of Henry VIII. Mr. Drake got a place to read prayers in the royal navy, and bound his eldest son, Francis, apprentice to a ship-master, who traded to France and Holland; with whom he endured much hardship. It is said, that, at the age of eighteen, he was purser of a ship trading to the Bay of Biscay. At twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea; and, at the age of twenty-two, was appointed captain of the *Judith*; and, in that capacity, was in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico; where he behaved very gallantly in the glorious action under Sir John Hawkins; and returned with him to England with a high reputation, but stripped of all, and very poor.

Soon

Soon after this, he conceived a design of making reprisals on the King of Spain; which, according to some, was put into his head by the chaplain of the ship: and, indeed, the case was clear in sea-divinity, that the subjects of the king of Spain had undone Mr. Drake, and therefore he was at liberty to take the best satisfaction he could on them in return. This doctrine, however roughly preached, was very taking in England; and, therefore, no sooner did he publish his design, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though not actuated by the same motives, and without any such pretence to colour their proceeding as he had.

In 1570, he made his first voyage with two ships, the *Dragon* and *Swan*; and the next year in the *Swan* alone: from which last expedition he returned safe, if not rich. ~~We~~ We have no particular account of these two voyages, or what Drake performed in them, yet nothing is clearer than that captain Drake had two great points in view: the one was, to inform himself perfectly of the situation and strength of certain places in the Spanish West-Indies; the other, to convince his countrymen, that, notwithstanding what had happened to captain Hawkins, in his last voyage, it was a thing very practicable to sail into these parts, and return in safety: for it is to be observed, that Hawkins and Drake separated in the West-Indies; and, that the former, find-
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ing it impossible to bring all his crew home to England, and set part of them, but with their own consent, ashore in the bay of Mexico; and, indeed, few of these finding their way home, the terror of such a captivity as they were known to endure, had a prodigious effect. But captain Drake, in these two voyages, having very wisely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home sufficient returns to satisfy his owners, dissipated these apprehensions, as well as raised his own character: so that, at his return from his second voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raise such a strength as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, which otherwise he never would have been able to effect.

Having now means sufficient to perform greater matters, as well as skill to conduct them, he laid the plan of a more important design; which he put in execution on the twenty-fifth of March: for, on that day, he sailed from Plymouth, in a ship called the *Patience*, burden seventy tons; and his brother, John Drake, in the *Swan*, of twenty-five tons; their whole strength consisting of only seventy-three men and boys: and with this small force, on the twenty-second of July, in the year following, 1573, attacked the town of *Nombre de Dios*, which then served the Spaniards for the same purposes as *Porto-Bello* does now. He took it in a few hours by storm,

force, notwithstanding a very dangerous wound he received in the action; yet, after all, with little advantage, being obliged, after a very brisk action, to betake themselves to their ships.

His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with silver, which passed from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this too he failed: however, attacking the former town, he carried it, and got some little plunder. In their return, they unexpectedly met with fifty mules laden with plate; of which they carried off as much as possible, and buried the rest. In these enterprises he was very greatly assisted by a nation of Indians, perpetually engaged in war with the Spaniards. The prince, or captain, of this tribe, whose name was Pedro, captain Drake presented with a fine cut-lass, of which he saw the Indian was very fond. In return, Pedro gave him four large wedges of gold; all which captain Drake threw into the common stock, adding withal, That he thought it but just, that such as bore the charge of so uncertain a voyage, on his credit, should share the utmost advantages that voyage produced. Then embarking his men, with a very considerable booty, he bore away for England; and, in twenty-three days, sailed from Cape Florida to the isles of Scilly; and from thence arrived safe at Plymouth on the ninth of August.

His success in this expedition, joined to his upright behaviour towards his owners, together

ther with the use he made of his riches, gained him a very high reputation; for, in 1555, fitting out three frigates at his own expence, he sailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter, earl of Essex, (father to the earl who had been beheaded) he served as a volunteer, and did many glorious exploits.

After the death of his patron, he returned to England, in 1576; where Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain to queen Elizabeth, took him under his protection; introduced him to her majesty, and procured him her countenance. By this means he was enabled to undertake that grand expedition which will immortalize his name. The first thing he proposed was a voyage into the South-Seas, through the Straits of Magellan, hitherto unattempted by any Englishman. This project was well received at court, and captain Drake soon saw himself at the height of his wishes; for, in his former voyage, having had a distant prospect of the South-Seas, he ardently prayed to God that he might sail an English ship in them; which now he found an opportunity of attempting, the queen, by her permission, furnishing him with the means; and his own fame quickly drawing to him a sufficient force for that purpose.

While he meditated on this great design in his own breast, without communicating it to any, he took care to procure the best lights; to engage several bold and active men to serve

under him where-ever he went ; and, by a well-timed display of public spirit, made himself known to, and gained, some powerful friends at court. But, in 1577, while he was thus warily contriving what he afterwards so happily executed, one John Oxenham, who had gained great reputation by his gallant behaviour in the last voyage under him, believed he had penetrated captain Drake's scheme, and thought to be before hand with him in the execution of it. Accordingly, this man failed in a bark of one hundred and forty tons, with seventy brave fellows, to Nombre de Dios ; where, laying his bark up in a creek, he marched across the isthmus with his companions ; got into the South-Seas with some canoes ; and took two Spanish ships with an immense treasure in gold and silver : but, being without Drake's abilities and generosity, though nothing inferior to him in courage, fell out with his men ; which occasioned such a delay in his return, that the Spaniards recovered their treasure ; destroyed many of his crew ; and, at length, took him, with four of his companions ; whom, for want of a commission to justify their proceedings, they harged as pirates.

Captain Drake, before he had any knowledge of the issue of this business, and being acquainted with no more than what was public throughout all the west of England, that Oxenham was failed upon some such design,

design, brought his own project to bear, thro' the light of his own judgment; and at the expence of private persons, who had an entire confidence in him; for the fleet with which he sailed on this extraordinary enterprize, consisted of the following ships: viz. The Pelican, of one hundred tons, commanded by himself; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, of eighty tons, under the command of captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of fifty tons, under captain John Chester; and the Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under captain Thomas Moon. In this fleet the whole number of hands embarked, but amounted to no more than one hundred and sixty-four able men, with all necessary provisions for so long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which was, however, not publicly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though it was generally suspected, and many knew, that it was designed for America.

On the twenty-fifth of the same month, he fell in with the coast of Barbary; and, on the twenty-ninth, with Cape de Verd. The thirteenth of March he passed the line; the fifth of April he made the coast of Brazil, in 30° N. lat. and entered the river de la Plata, where he lost the company of two of his fleet; but, meeting them again, and taking out all their hands, and the provisions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the twenty-ninth of May he entered the port of St. Julian's,

BRITISH PLUTARCH.

where he executed Mr. John Doughty; who was next in authority to himself; in which, however, he preserved a great appearance of justice.

It will, however, be necessary to give an account of this affair, as it was one of the most remarkable passages in our hero's life, with regard to his moral character. After he had continued about two months in port St. Julian, lying within one degree of the Straights of Magellan, to make the necessary preparations for passing the streights with safety, on a sudden having carried the principal persons engaged in the service to a desert island lying in the bay, he called a court-martial, where he opened his commission; by which the queen granted him the power of life and death, which was delivered him with this remarkable expression from her own mouth: "We do account that he, Drake, who strikes at thee, does strike at us." He then explained with that wonderful fluency of speech which, with indifferent education, he was naturally master of, the cause of the assembly; and proceeded next to charge Mr. John Doughty, who had been second in command during the whole voyage, first, with plotting in his absence to murder him.

"We had," said he, "the first notice of this gentleman's intentions before he left England, but was in hopes his behaviour would have extinguished such dispositions, if there had been any truth in the information."

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He then appealed for his behaviour to the whole assembly, and to the gentleman accused: he next exposed his practices from the time they left England, while he behaved towards him with all the kindness and cordiality of a brother; supporting his charge by producing papers under his own hand; to which Mr. Doughty added a full and free confession. After this, the captain, or, as he was then called, the general, quitted the place, telling the assembly he expected that they should pass a verdict upon him; for he would be no judge in his own cause.

Camden says he was tried by a jury. The accounts affirm, that the whole forty persons of which the court consisted, adjudged him to death, and gave this in writing under their hands and seals, leaving the time and manner of it to the general. Upon this, captain Drake, having maturely weighed the whole affair, gave Mr. Doughty his choice, of three things. First, to be executed on the island where they were; secondly, to be set ashore on the main land; or, lastly, to be sent home to abide the justice of his country. After desiring till next day to consider of these, he declared, that he made the first his choice; and, having received the sacrament with the general from the hands of Mr. Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the fleet, and made a full confession, his head was severed from his body with an axe by the provost-marshal, on the second of July, 1578.

This Island had been the scene of another affair exactly of the same kind, fifty eight years before, when Magellan caused John de Carthagena, who was joined in commission with him by the king of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence; and from hence it was called the island of true justice.

But to return to an account of captain Drake's voyage; on the twentieth of August, 1579, he entered the Straights of Magellan; on the twenty-fifth he passed them, having then with him only his own ship, which, in the South-Seas, he new named the Hind: on the 25th of November he came to Macao, in 33° lat. where he had appointed a rendezvous in case his ships were parted; but captain Winter having repassed the streights, returned to England. From Macao, Drake continued his voyage along the coasts of Chili and Peru, taking all opportunities of seizing Spanish ships, or of landing and attacking them on shore, till they were sated with plunder; and then coasting North-America, to the height of 48° , he endeavoured to find a passage back into the Atlantic Ocean on that side.—A convincing evidence of his consummate skill and undaunted courage: for, if ever such a passage be found to the northward, this, in all probability, will be the method.

Here, being disappointed of what he sought, he landed, and called the country New Albion; taking possession of it in the name, and for

for the use, of queen Elizabeth; and, after careening his ship, set sail from thence, on the twenty-ninth of September, for the Molucca islands. He chose this passage round rather than to return by the Streights of Magellan; partly from the danger of being attacked by the Spaniards, and partly from the lateness of the season, when dreadful storms and hurricanes were to be apprehended. Perhaps too, he gave out among his seamen, that he was deterred by the confident, though false, reports of the Spaniards, that the Streights could not be re-passed; for it had actually been done by captain John Winter, though Drake and his company could know nothing of it then.

But that captain Drake could not apprehend any impossibility in the thing itself appears from hence, that, in this very voyage he had not only passed them, but had also been driven back again, not through the streights indeed, but in the open sea; of which Sir Richard Hawkins gives the following account from the captain's own mouth: "In all the streights it ebbeth and floweth more or less. If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the wind good, he may keep the main sea, and go round about the streights to the southward; and this is the shorter way. For, besides the experience which we made, that all the south part of the streights is but islands, many times having the sea open, I remember that Sir Francis Drake told me, that, having shot the

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streights, a storm took him, first, at north-west, and afterwards veered about to the south-west; which continued with him many days with such extremity that he could not open any sail; and, that at the end of the storm he found himself in fifty degrees: which was sufficient proof that he was beaten round about the streights; for the least height of the streights is in 52° and $50'$, in which stand the two entrances, or mouths. And, moreover, he said, that, standing about when the wind changed, he was not well able to double the southernmost island, and so anchored under the lee of it; and going ashore carried a compass with him; and seeking out the southernmost part of the island, cast himself down upon the uttermost point, groveling, and so reached out his body over it. Soon after, he embarked; where he acquainted his people that he had been upon the southernmost known land in the world; and further to the southward upon it than any man yet known."

On the 13th of October, Drake fell in with certain islands inhabited by the most barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the fourth of November he had sight of the Moluccas; and, coming to the island of Ternate, was extremely well received by the king of that island, who seems to have been a wise and polite prince. On the tenth of December he made Celebes; where, his ship running on a rock, on the ninth of January they got off

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off and continued their course. On the sixteenth of March, 1580, he arrived at Java Major, thence intending to have proceeded to Malacca, he found himself obliged to think of returning home immediately. On the twenty-fifth he put this design in execution; and, on the fifteenth of June, doubling the Cape, he had on board his ship fifty-seven men, and but three casks of water. On the twelfth of July he crossed the Line; reached the coast of Guiney on the sixteenth, and there took in water. On the eleventh of September, he made the island of Tercera; and, on the third of November following, entered the harbour of Plymouth.

In this voyage he completely surrounded the globe, which no commander in chief had done before him.

Drake's success in this voyage, and the immense treasure he brought home with him, became the general topic of conversation; some highly commending, and others as loudly censuring him. In this uncertainty matters continued during the remainder of this year, 1581, and the spring of the next, when, at length, on the 14th of April, her majesty going to Deptford, went on board Drake's ship; where, after dinner, she conferred the honour of knighthood on him, and declared her absolute approbation of all he had done. She also gave directions for the preservation of his ship, that it might remain a monument both of

himself and his country? But time, that destroys all things, having made great breaches in this vessel, which, for many years, had been viewed with admiration at Deptford, was at length broken up, and a chair made out of the planks was presented, by John Davies, esq. to the university of Oxford, where it is still preserved.

In the year 1585, he again sailed to the West-Indies. In this expedition he took the cities of St. Jago, St. Dominico, Carthagena, and St. Augustine; by which he even exceeded the most sanguine hopes of his warmest friends. Yet the profits of this voyage were but moderate, Sir Francis's design being rather to weaken the enemy than enrich himself.

Two years afterwards he proceeded to Lisbon with a fleet of thirty sail; and, receiving intelligence of a considerable fleet assembled in the bay of Cadiz, intended to make part of the Spanish armada, he bravely entered that port, and burnt upwards of ten thousand tons of shipping: then, having advice of a large Caracca ship expected at the island of Tercera from the East-Indies, he sailed thither; and, though his men were in great want of provisions, he prevailed on them to go through those hardships for a few days; in which time the East-India ship arriving, he took and carried her home in triumph: so that, during all the war, no expedition was so happily conducted as this, either with regard to reputation

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tion or profit: and therefore it is the less surprising, that, upon his return, he was something elated with the high applause he received. In this he was, however, the more excusable, as his pride always vented itself in the service of the public.

It is here to be observed, that, though our intrepid seaman in his voyage round the world had the queen's commission, yet he commanded none of her ships; but, in this expedition of 1587, Sir Francis was on board a man of war, and his vice-admiral, Forbisher, was in another; besides which he had two more of her majesty's ships, together with twenty-six sail of several sizes fitted out by the merchants of London.

In the year 1588, Sir Francis undertook to convey water to the town of Plymouth, for want of which, till then, it was greatly distressed; and performed it by bringing thither stream from springs at the distance of eight miles, if the distance be measured in a strait line; but in the manner by which he conducted it, the course it runs is upwards of twenty miles.

This year also he was appointed vice-admiral under lord Charles Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England; here he was as fortunate as ever, for he took a prize of a very large galleon, commanded by don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded without striking a blow at the bare mention of his name. This don
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Pedro remained above two years Sir Francis Drake's prisoner in England, and, when he was released, paid him for his own liberty, and that of his two captains, a ransom of three thousand five hundred pounds.

From the vessel taken above, 56,000 ducats were distributed among his sailors and soldiers; which liberal share not a little riveted the affection they had for their valiant commander. It must, however, be owned, that, through an oversight of his, the admiral ran a great hazard of being taken by the enemy; for Drake was appointed, the first night of the engagement, to carry lights in his ship for the direction of the English fleet; but, being in pursuit of some hulks belonging to the Spaniards, neglected it; which occasioned the admiral's following the Spanish lights, and in the morning found himself in the centre of the enemy's fleet. But his succeeding services sufficiently atoned for this oversight, the greatest execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by his squadron.

Next year, 1589, Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral of the fleet sent to restore don Antonio, king of Portugal, and the command of the land-forces given to Sir John Norris. But the fleet was scarce at sea before the commanders differed; the occasion of which was this: the general was earnest for landing at the Groyne; whereas the admiral and sea-officers were for sailing directly to Lisbon;

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Lisbon; in which had their advice been taken, doubtless their enterprize had succeeded, and don Antonio been restored; for the enemy made such good use of the time in fortifying Lisbon, that no impression could be made. Sir John, indeed, marched by land to Lisbon, and Sir Francis promised to sail up the river with his whole fleet; but, upon perceiving the consequences, he chose rather to break his word than hazard the queen's navy; for which he was highly reproached by Norris, and the miscarriage of the whole affair imputed to the failure in his promise. Yet Sir Francis fully justified himself on his return; for he shewed the queen and council, that whatever was done there or elsewhere, for the credit of the nation, was performed solely by the fleet, and by his orders; in consequence of which, a large fleet, laden with naval stores from the Hans towns, was taken, with a great quantity of ammunition and artillery on board: that his sailing up the river of Lisbon would have signified nothing to the taking the castle, which was two miles off; and, that, without reducing it, there was no taking the city. He further shewed, that, had it not been for the fleet, the army must have been starved; and, that, if they had stayed any longer, neither fleet nor army could have returned home; and, that, when he found that he could not prevail on some men to manage their own affairs right, he contented

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tented himself with managing as well as he could those that were immediately within his own province; and with respect to these, even the censurers of this expedition admit, that no body could have managed them better.

The war with Spain still continuing in 1595, and it being evident that nothing distressed the enemy so much as the losses they met with in the Indies, a proposition was made to the queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into those parts than had hitherto been attempted; and at the same time they offered to be at a great part of the expence themselves, and to engage their friends to bear a considerable proportion of the rest. The queen readily listened to this proposal, and furnished a stout squadron of ships of war, on board one of which, the *Garland*, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their whole force consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and on board of them were two thousand five hundred men. The fleet was detained some time after it was ready on the English coasts by the arts of the Spaniards, who receiving intelligence of its strength and destination, gave out that they were ready themselves to invade England, and to render this the more probable, actually sent four galleys to make a descent on Cornwall. This had the desired effect, for the queen and the nation being thereby alarmed, thought it by
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no means adviseable to send so great a number of ships on so long a voyage at that critical juncture. At last this alarm blowing over, the fleet sailed in conjunction for destroying Nombre de Dios, a particular account of which will be given in the life of Sir John Hawkins, who died the day before Sir Francis made his desperate attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto Rico on November the thirteenth, in pursuance of a resolution taken by a council of war. This attempt was ended indeed with considerable loss to the Spaniards, yet with little advantage to the English, who, meeting with a stronger resistance and better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to sheer off. The admiral then steered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hache, which, a church and a single house excepted, he burnt to the ground. After this, destroying some other villages, he proceeded to Santa Martha, which he also burned. The like fate had Nombre de Dios, the Spaniards refusing to ransom these places; and in them an inconsiderable booty was taken. On the twenty-ninth of December Sir Thomas Baskerville marched with seven hundred and fifty men towards Panama, but returned on the second of January, finding the design of reducing that place wholly impracticable: so that the whole of this expedition was a series of misfortunes. If they had gone at first to Porto Rico, they had done the queen's business and their own: if, when they had intelligence

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of the Spanish succours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the Isthmus, in order to have executed their designs against Panamá, before their forces had been weakened by that desperate attack, they might possibly have accomplished their first intention; but grasping at too many things spoiled all. A very strong sense of this threw Sir Francis Drake into a deep melancholy, which occasioned a bloody flux, the natural disease of the country, that brought him to his end. His body, according to the custom of the sea, was sunk very near the place where he first laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. Such was the end of this great man, having, according to some, lived fifty-five years, and according to others only fifty-one. His death was generally lamented by the whole nation, but more especially by those of his native place, who had great reasons to love him from the circumstances of his private life, as well as to esteem him in his public character. He had been elected burghers for the town of Bussiney in Cornwall, in the parliament held the twenty-seventh of queen Elizabeth, and afterwards for Plymouth in Devonshire, in the thirty-fifth of the same reign. Having hitherto spoken of his public actions, we shall now say something of his person and character.

He was low of stature, but well set, had a broad open chest, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a fresh chearful and engaging countenance: as navigation had
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been his whole study, he was a perfect master in every branch of it, especially astronomy, and the application of it to the nautical art. His voyage round the world is an incontestable proof of his courage, capacity, patience, and public spirit; since he performed every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own private advantage: and it is apparent, that if Sir Francis Drake amassed a large fortune by continually exposing himself to labours and perils, which hardly any other man would have undergone, for the sake, even of the greatest expectations, he was far from being governed by a narrow and private spirit: on the contrary, his notions were free and noble; and the nation stands indebted to him for many advantages which she at present enjoys, in arms, navigation, and commerce.

It was the felicity of our admiral to live in the time of a princess, who always took care to distinguish merit. Sir Francis therefore was always her favourite; and when his countryman Sir Bernard Drake, also a seaman, whose arms Sir Francis had assumed, was so incensed as to give him a box on the ear; the queen was pleased to honour him with a new coat, viz. sable, a fess wavy between two pole-stars, argent; and for his crest, a ship on a globe under a ruff, held by a cable with a hand out of the clouds, and over it this motto, AUXILIO DIVINO; underneath, SIC PARVUS MAGNA; in the rigging is hung up by the
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heels a wivern gules, which was the coat of Sir Bernard. Her majesty's kindness however did not reach beyond the grave, for she suffered his brother Thomas Drake to be prosecuted for a pretended debt to the crown, which much diminished the advantages he otherwise would have received from his brother's fortune. This brother of his had accompanied him in his last expedition, as his brothers John and Joseph had done in his first voyages to the West-Indies, where they both died. The land estate, purchased by Sir Francis, was very considerable (for though on proper occasions he was extremely generous, yet he was also a good economist) devolved to his nephew Francis Drake, son to his brother, the aforesaid Thomas, who, in the succeeding reign, was created a baronet. In the possession of the lineal descendant of his family, viz. Sir Francis Henry Drake, baronet, is a bible to be seen, with an inscription indented on the edges, signifying, that it made the tour of the world with Sir Francis Drake, as also many other relicks preserved in the cabinets of the curious in memory of this famous person, as a staff made out of his ship, before it was broke up in the hat of Mr. Thoresby of Leeds. And to this day is preserved in Berkley castle, the bed and curtains, of green stuff, on which he lay during his whole voyage.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

